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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

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COGNATE SUBJECTS.

No. I.—1894.

The Nasal Index Compared upon the Head and Skull—With Notes upon the Nasal Bones, and Anterior Nasal Aperture.—By R. HAVELOCK CHARLES, M. D., M. CH., F. R. C. S. I., F. Z. S., Surgeon-Captain, Bengal Medical Service, Professor of Anatomy, Medical College, Lahore; Surgeon, Mayo Hospital, Lahore; Fellow of the Punjab University.

(With Plates I, II, & III.)

[Read 7th Feb.]

Anthropology at present is like a puzzle of which the pieces have not been all found, or put together. Some searchers bring parts that fill large gaps. Others from their labours produce but little pieces, which to many may appear foreign to the work in progress, but to some these small contributions are the parts which frequently supply the deficiencies left between the larger and more important discoveries. It is possible too at times that a piece of this puzzle may be ill-placed, so that deductions drawn from it, owing to the malposition, would be based on a wrong foundation, and might thus lead to improper weight being given to its importance absolutely and relatively.

I hope that the facts presented in this paper, although in some ways casting doubt on beautiful hypotheses, may in other ways lead to a further reconsideration of the value given to one of the axiomatic pieces of the anthropological puzzle—the nasal index—and draw atten-

tion to the fact that the nasal index on the head is one thing, and the nasal index of the skull another, and that they are not comparable with each other.

In a contribution of mine to the *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology* (Vol. XXVII), at page 20, while comparing the measurements of the heads of live Chuhras from Mr. Risley's tables (Tribes and Castes of Bengal) with the results obtained by myself on the skulls of men of the same caste, I was struck with certain discrepancies between the data. I then remarked—"A comparison of craniometrical measurements on the live subject with those carried out on the macerated skull will not be without interest. In both instances the caste was alike. The chief discrepancy is in the nasal measurements—especially the transverse. The breadth taken at the widest portions of the alae, does not seem to correspond to the greatest transverse diameter of the anterior nares measured on the skull. There is a greater similarity in the vertical measurements of the nose. It will be noted, though, that, contrary to expectation, the height is greater on the skull than on the live subject. I do not attempt to explain this. I am not aware whether M. Broca, in his discovery that the nasal index is one of the best for the purpose of distinguishing the various races of mankind, would expect his observations on a particular tribe, taken on the live subject, to correspond to observations taken on the *skulls* of members of the same tribe."

With the object of explaining the disagreement noted above, I made the investigations embodied in this paper. They were conducted as follows:—Having carefully measured, with sliding compasses, the nasal diameters of 62 "subjects," I removed the integuments, &c., and having cleared the naso-frontal suture and anterior nasal aperture, I again took the diameters. Tabulating the results I computed the indices and instituted a comparison between the measurements taken on the head with those carried out on the skull of each and every one of the bodies. Of these bodies, 54 were males, and 8 females. They were of different castes or tribes—low caste Hindu, Hindu Khatri, Musalmán, Rajput, Afridi, Pathan, Jat, Seyid, "Panjabi Musalman," and Chuhra.

It is to be noted that the term "Panjabi Musalman" is not the name of a *caste* in the proper ethnic acceptation of the word. There is, however, none better for the present. I should say that the Panjabi Musalmáns are conglomerate—to borrow a geological term—and amongst them are to be found types varying from that of the Chuhra to the highest Rajput.

Before bringing forward the explanation of why the nasal index taken on the skull does not correspond to that taken upon the head, I will note certain points bearing on the anterior nasal aperture, the

nasal bones, and that portion of the great transverse suture with which these articulate—the nasal notch.

THE NASAL BONES are thickest at the upper extremity, narrowest at the upper third, becoming wider and thinner as they pass down. This fan-shape held good in 106 skulls. In 12 specimens the bones were more or less rectangular. The profile view varies. In 6 skulls it was a straight line from nasion to inferior border as shown in Fig. 1, Pl. I. In these there is no curve, and hence no fundus, and the “root of nose” on the skin will correspond to the fronto-nasal articulation. In 27 skulls the anterior surface is concave in its whole extent as is shown in Fig. 2, Pl. I. In 96 skulls the profile shows a curve above, and a convexity below. Fig. 3, Pl. I., brings this out very well. The upper part of the fundus of the curve on the bone corresponds roughly to the “root of the nose” upon the skin. The extent of the bone from this point up to the nasion is about 4μ .

In the first division the fronto-nasal sulcus is scarcely noticeable, whilst in most of the second class it is very deep—a deep fronto-nasal sulcus corresponds to largely developed frontal sinuses and strongly curved nasal bones.

I have noticed that in the higher castes the extent of the nasal bones above the fundus of the curve is greater than the same amongst the lower races, so that, in the former, the height of the nose, taken on the undissected *head*, will be much less than the long diameter of the nose measured on the *skull* of the same head—thus:—

Head of Afridi Pathan. Height of Nose = 52μ .

Skull of same „ „ Long Diameter Nose = 59μ .—difference in favour of skull = 7μ . That is, the extent of the nasal bones above what corresponds to the “root” of the nose in the man was 7μ .

In 30 male Panjabi Musalmáns—cultivator class—comparing the diameters in the same way the average is a difference of 4μ .

In the 4 male Chuhra the observations showed only 1μ of difference. *The higher the caste, the greater the discrepancy.*

This brings me to the consideration of the NASAL NOTCH of the frontal. Its depth varies according to the upward development of the nasal bones. The shallower the notch of course the lower the level of the nasion. In cases where the “notch,” as such, is practically absent, the thin plate of bone below the glabella will be prolonged down straight, instead of retreating to join the naso-frontal suture, and in measuring upon the live subject the compasses would be placed on the head somewhere above the level of the nasion, the frontal bone thus exceptionally entering into the formation of the “root” of the nose. The “root” being thus *on* the frontal, and not on a level with its

hypothetical position, the nasion, or its *usual site*, above the fundus of the nasal curve. Under such circumstances the nasal processes of the superior maxilla are on a slightly higher level than the upper borders of the nasal bones (Pl. III., A). This is very rare, and is only present in 3 skulls in my collection: Fig. 4, Pl. I., shows this peculiarity, which cannot be discovered till after the integuments, &c., have been dissected from the skull.

A less rare condition (Pl. III., B—present in 18 of my skulls) is for the nasal processes of the superior maxillæ to be on an equality with the upper border of the nasal bones, Fig. 5, Pl. I., is of one of these skulls. The foregoing explains how it happens that in Nos. 20, 38, 41, and 47 the height of the nose on the head is greater than the long diameter of the nose on the skull, as well as No. 13, where the long diameters on head and skull are equal.

The ordinary condition (Pl. III., C) of the nasal notch of the frontal bone is that represented in Fig. 6, Pl. I., where it is deep, and the nasal bones extend considerably above the level of the nasal processes of the superior maxillæ. In this, the common variety, the extent of the nasal bones above the fundus of the curve is about 4μ , as I have before shown, and in measuring the length of nose on the head, the compasses will not be placed on the nasion, but about 4μ below it, which point will be the visible "root" of the nose, and so it happens that one may formulate a rule to which there will only be the exceptions noted. *The height of the nose on the head of an individual will be less than the long diameter of the nose on the skull of the same person, and generally the difference will be about 4μ in the higher races, but will probably be less in the lower castes.*

ANTERIOR NASAL APERTURE. This varies considerably in the size, shape, and condition of its inferior margin. I have noted two main types—the CORDIFORM and ROTUND. Of the former there are three varieties—*Regular*, *Lyrate*, and *Irregular*. To these I think most variations can be referred. Figs. 7, 8, 9, 10, Pl. II., faithfully display the modifications in question.

In the *Regular CORDIFORM Nasal Aperture* (Pl. II., Fig. 7.) the nasal bones bounding it above show scarcely any pre-nasal notch—the lateral nasal spine is long, and gradually tapers down to the *apertura pyriformis* of the superior maxilla. The median nasal spine is not prolonged down as in the "lyrate cordiform." In about 20% it is unsymmetrical—one side being at a lower level than the other. In some 36% the lower margin is rounded or bevelled off to the alveolar surface as in the skull of the negro or orang—Fig. 11, Pl. II., and Fig. 13, Pl. III.

The *Lyrate* CORDIFORM (Pl. II., Fig. 9.) differs from the foregoing, chiefly as to the great depth of the pre-nasal notch and consequent large development of its boundaries—the lateral and median nasal spines. This is commoner than the “regular cordiform” of photo. No. 7. The rounding off on the lower margin occurs in as large a percentage of this as of the former class.

The *Irregular* CORDIFORM as shown in Pl. II., Fig. 10, has no pre-nasal notch, The median nasal spine being practically obsolete. This formation of the anterior nasal aperture exists in 6% of the skulls in my collection. In none of these is there any bevelling off to the alveolar surface—the sharp nasal margin of the superior maxillæ being well marked. The opening may be unsymmetrical as shown in Pl. II., Fig. 12.

The *Rotund* type is somewhat rare amongst Panjáb skulls, and those in which it is present are of low caste and inferior development. See Fig. 8, Pl. II. The aperture is rounded, and in every instance the nasal margin of the maxillæ is bevelled, and slopes to the alveolar surface. The anterior nasal spine is very small, almost absent. The floor of the nasal fossæ is on a higher level than the nasal margin of the pyriform aperture. For comparison as to the prognathism and shape of lower border of the anterior nares in some of the foregoing, the accompanying photograph (Pl. III., Fig. 14.) of a young gorilla's skull, may be interesting.

The transverse diameter of the anterior nasal aperture taken on the skull, is less than the breadth of the nose taken on the head of the same subject. The difference is usually 7 μ , and in the lower castes it may be 9 μ , as in these the difference is greatest. Also, other things being equal, the older the individual the greater is the difference between the nose breadth and the transverse diameter of the anterior nasal aperture; and the younger the person (skull of 20 years or under) the less will these two measurements disagree.

This shows that the nose becomes coarser with the growth of the lower lateral cartilages as the type develops. In no instance were these two measurements on head and skull found to be equal.

NASAL INDEX. Now to consider an important point as regards the nasal index. I have shown—

1. That the long diameter of the nose on the skull is greater than the height of the nose on same head, and now also,
2. That the transverse diameter of the anterior nares of the skull is less than the breadth of the Nose on the same head; or, that the long diameter is greater on the *skull*, the breadth greater on the *head*.

Owing to this, the nasal index deduced from observations on the skull must always place the individual on a higher level—the index will be lower as long diameter is *greater* relatively to transverse diameter—than when the index is calculated from measurements taken upon the head,—the index here will be higher as the height is *less* relatively to the breadth.

A glance at the table of measurements will show that the lower one goes in the scale of caste, the greater is the difference between the nasal index as observed on the head and that as calculated on the skull. This is well shown in the indices of the women—in No. 55 Rajpoot female the difference is 11 (59·6–48); in the women of the cultivator class (Panjabi Musalman) the difference is 21 (72·1–51); whilst in the Chuhra women it is 25 (77·5–52·4).

SEPTUM NASI. Before leaving the anterior nares I may note that a straight septum is the exception: in 126 skulls and heads it was deflected in 111 (to the right in 47, to the left in 64), and was straight in only 15. The deflection was so great in some of the cases as to touch the inferior turbinated bone. Also in cases where the anterior nasal aperture was unsymmetrical the deflection was without exception towards the deformed side.

The points I have endeavoured to demonstrate, the facts adduced, or the theories advanced, are then briefly as follows:—

1. The "root" of the nose on the head rarely corresponds to the nasion on the skull.
2. The long diameter of the nose on the skull is generally always greater than the height of the nose on the same head.
3. The breadth of the nose on the head is always more than the transverse diameter of the anterior nasal aperture on the skull, and this difference is greater in individuals of full adult age than in young persons.
4. The nasal index of a race calculated from measurements on the *heads* of its members, will never be equivalent to the nasal index of the same race calculated from observations upon the *skulls* of persons of that caste.
5. The *skull* nasal index will place the caste on a higher platform than the *head* nasal index.
6. The lower the caste the greater will be the differences between the *skull* and *head* nasal indices.
7. The absence of a sharp inferior margin to the anterior nares is common in ordinary Panjab skulls, together with, in many, the sloping down of the floor of the nasal fossae to the alveolus.

8. The anterior nasal aperture as to outline presents two main types, *viz.* :—

A. CORDIFORM	{	<i>Regular.</i> <i>Lyrate.</i> <i>Irregular.</i>
--------------	---	--

B. ROTUND.

The three varieties of the first type depend on differences in the pre-nasal notch and its two bounding processes.

9. A deflected septum is the rule—a straight one the exception.

I have to thank my friend Dr. Dickson of Lahore for his kindness in photographing the skulls.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE.

- Fig. 1. Showing straight nasal bones—absence of curvature in whole extent.
- Fig. 2. Showing nasal bones short and curved throughout the whole extent.
- Fig. 3. Showing the profile of nasal bones concave above and convex below.
- Fig. 4. Showing the nasal processes of superior maxillæ to be prolonged to a higher level than upper extremity of nasal bones.
- Fig. 5. Showing the upper extremities of nasal bones and nasal processes of superior maxilla to be on the same level.
- Fig. 6. Showing ordinary condition of the nasal notch where the nasal bones occupy a higher level than the nasal processes of the superior maxillæ.
- Fig. 7. Showing the "*Regular Cordiform*" nasal aperture.
- Fig. 8. Showing the "*Rotund*" type of nasal aperture.
- Fig. 9. Showing the "*Lyrate Cordiform*" nasal aperture.
- Fig. 10. Showing the "*Irregular Cordiform*" nasal aperture.
- Fig. 11. Showing the inferior margin of the anterior nares rounded and levelled off to the alveolar surface—considerable prognathism.
- Fig. 12. Showing an example of unsymmetrical anterior nares.
- Fig. 13. Same as Fig. 11.
- Fig. 14. Skull of young gorilla.

Table of Nasal Measurements upon the Heads and Skulls of sixty-two "subjects." Of these fifty-four are males and eight are females.

Serial No.	Age.	NAME.	CASTE OR TRIB.	NASAL DIAMETERS. (in millimetres).						No. in D. R. Register.
				On Head.		Index.	On Skull.		Index.	
				L.	Br.		L.	Br.		
150		Nain Sukh Nath...	Low Caste "Hindoo."	48	30	62.5	55	27	47.2	21
270		Doola Nain ...		47	34	72.3	55	23	41.8	25
332		Raja Singh ...		45	32	71.1	48	24	50.	44
450		Gunga Ram ...		50	32	64.	53	25	47.1	61
565		Golab ...		44	39	88.6	43	29	64.	18
645		Gunga Ram ...		45	29	64.4	52	23	64.2	9
7?		Muthra ...		47	30	63.8	56	27	48.2	1
832		Gunga Ram ...		43	34	79.6	54	28	51.8	50
920		Man Mudh ...		47	29	61.7	49	24	48.9	40
1040		Atma Raw ...		50	35	70.	57	24	42.1	55
1160		Jowahir ...		49	38	77.5	55	26	47.2	81
1240		? ...		47	32	68.8	57	25	43.8	24
1335		Sunder Singh ...		54	34	62.9	54	28	51.8	62
1480		Thakoor Singh ...		54	32	59.2	55	26	42.1	68
		Average ...		47	32	68.5	53	25	47.1	
1535		Gúrdit Singh ...	Jat ...	49	37	75.5	51	30	58.8	64
1630		Bhola Singh ...	(Sindhi) Hindoo	49	35	71.4	50	24	48.	74
1760		Kikri ...	(N.-W. P.) Hindoo	43	37	86.4	43	27	56.2	73
1844		Mukha ...	Panjab Khatri ...	50	39	78.	54	28	51.8	83
1960		Sharif ...		46	33	71.7	51	26	59.	10
2035		? ...		52	30	67.6	51	21	41.1	12
2150		? ...		46	30	65.2	52	25	48.7	8
2260		Bauli Baksh ...		51	34	66.6	52	27	51.9	47
2367		Kassu ...		50	34	68.	54	24	44.4	42
2460		Dido ...		46	34	73.9	51	26	59.	11
2560		Mahia ...		44	28	63.6	55	23	41.8	6
26?		Dhunda ...		41	31	75.6	48	25	52.8	4
2745		Bhagu ...		50	30	60.	52	25	48.8	66
2860		Rahim ...		57	34	59.6	57	30	52.6	67
2940		Pir Baksh ...		49	37	75.4	51	27	52.9	57
3035		Bolanda ...		49	29	59.1	54	24	44.4	43
3140		Mehtab ...		49	34	69.3	53	24	45.2	56
3219		Manga ...		50	29	58.	52	27	51.9	65
3365		Kutab Din ...		49	34	69.3	55	25	45.4	19
3430		Habib ...		54	32	59.2	56	23	41.7	63
3530		Shadi ...		47	30	63.8	63	25	47.1	60
3640		Imam Din ...		44	38	86.3	48	27	56.2	71
3747		Rehana ...		50	35	70.	54	28	51.8	72
3820		Kalu ...		59	33	55.1	57	26	45.5	76

Serial No.	Age.	NAME.	CASTE OR TRIBE.	NASAL DIAMETERS (in millimetres).						No. in D. R. Register.
				On Head.		Index.	On Skull.		Index.	
				L.	Br.		L.	Br.		
			Brought forward	45	33	73·3	49	25	52·	77
39	30	Chiraj Din	“Panjab Musal- mān”—“Culti- vator” Caste mostly.	53	35	66·3	54	27	50·	88
40	70	Faquir		51	29	56·8	50	25	50·	90
41	40	Dittu		46	32	69·5	50	28	56·	3
42	?	leona		49	32	65·2	56	21	37·5	78
43	25	Bahadri		49	31	63·2	53	25	47·1	79
44	22	Chandan		40	28	70·	51	23	45·9	14
45	30	Hira		39	36	92·3	49	29	59·1	5
46	?	Alia		49	33	67·3	48	24	50·	80
47	50	Ilahi Baksh		48	37	77·8	52	28	53·8	37
48	50	Dilawar		Average	48	32	66·6	52	25	48·
49	33	Rajjul	Afridi (Pathan)	52	33	63·4	59	24	46·	39
50	70	Kutab Shah	Seyid—should be of Arab descent.	52	34	65·3	56	27	48·2	15
51	30	Golab	Panjab Chuhra.	49	37	75·5	48	23	47·9	89
52	30	Mokand		51	35	68·6	51	26	50·9	86
53	40	Kala Din		45	35	77·7	49	25	51·	33
54	60	Ratti		49	34	69·3	53	29	54·7	48
			Average	48	35	72·7	50	25	51·1	
EIGHT FEMALES.										
55	55	Mehtab Bibi	Musalman Rajpoot.	52	31	59·6	52	25	48·	54
56	35	Rajain	“ ” (?)	44	28	63·6	48	21	43·7	20
57	25	?	“Panjab Musal- mān”—“Culti- vator” Caste mostly (?)	43	33	76·7	48	25	52·	27
58	80	Satai Bibi		43	33	76·7	46	24	52·1	38
59	60	Khairau		39	30	76·9	44	27	61·3	7
60	40	Tabi		47	33	70·2	49	25	51·	29
			Average	43	32	74·4	47	25	53·1	
61	70	Tabao	Chuhra	44	37	84·8	50	27	54	32
62	30	Fazloo		45	32	71·1	48	24	50	82
			Average	44	34	77·2	49	25	51	

Fading Histories.—By S. E. PEAL, F.R.G.S., M.A.S.B., &c.

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In a general way it may be said that until comparatively modern times histories were supposed to be found written in books, or inscribed on stone in some kind of hieroglyphic character or writing; but a notable feature of our day is the increasing facility with which we can interpret the varied records of the past in other ways. That of our earth, for instance, in the vast series of geological remains, that of the development of plants and animals, as stored in the stratified crust, and that of the human race, not alone in recent strata, but as recorded in the many and peculiar social customs surviving to our day. Thanks to the exertions of Anthropologists, this new art of reading the past through surviving customs has of late enormously developed, and in few departments of the subject is greater interest exhibited than in the elucidation of the earlier phases of social life, and all that relates to the origin of marriage and the family. Until lately, it was generally assumed that—as among some of the lower animals—the primitive element of the society from the first was “the family”; that in some form or other the institution of marriage had always existed. Of late years, however, and as a result of careful investigation, it is becoming more and more apparent that the social systems seen among the most uncivilized races, their often peculiar organization, terms of relationship, and endogamic and exogamic rules, seem to point unmistakably to a more archaic stage, wherein the primary social element was, not the family but the small communal horde. A horde, however, in which there was more or less law and order, and not, as too often imagined, a social chaos; yet in which “marriage,” or the private right in female slaves, had not arisen. In his introductory remarks on the “*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*,” Mr. H. H. Risley tells us that “the principal points which it was supposed a record of Indian customs might help to clear up, are the early history of marriage, the development of the family, modes of relationship,” &c. And without a doubt, when the many savage hill races of our Eastern frontier are carefully studied *in situ*, many unsuspected traces of former communal association will be found, confirming the supposition that it is among these races, and not among the Australians, that these fundamental problems will be solved. But the necessity for a little more expedition in recording and collating the surviving customs of semi-savage races is well seen in Mr. Risley’s work. On all sides we see these non-Aryans being rapidly Hinduised, losing

their old, and adopting new customs. Infant marriage is rapidly supplanting the adult ceremony, and individualism over-riding the communal traits. Thus it is most desirable that all available information in regard to our Eastern and North-Eastern savage races should be collected at the earliest possible moment, both on scientific and administrative grounds. Twenty or thirty years hence, unless the men of our day bestir themselves, the Anthropological world will be fruitlessly bewailing lost opportunities.

Many of our leading savants have long regretted that more effectual and systematic efforts have not been made to work out the languages, customs, and histories of the races so rapidly changing or dying out; but few of them can be aware of the speed with which the old order is giving way to the new; not here in India alone but all over the Archipelago and Pacific, with which regions our savage races are so closely related. Not long ago, the so called "Cannibal Batta" of central Sumatra, were almost unknown. Now I learn from Mr. Snuggs of Singapore and Lake Loba, that many thousands of them are Christians, and I was presented with a New Testament printed in their singular native character. From Borneo we hear that the Dyaks, Dusuns, and many other wild tribes, are being rapidly weaned from their wicked ways and becoming yearly more alive to the benefits of peaceful trade. The Papuans under the fostering care of Sir William Macgregor and the numerous missionaries, are rapidly becoming civilized, breaking out in pants, shirts, and wide-awakes. Genuine old stone axes, I am told by a good authority, are now absolutely unprocurable, and the manufacture of spurious curios has begun. Polynesia is being even still more rapidly and effectually revolutionized. From one end to the other, aboriginal customs are about as difficult to get hold of as aboriginal costumes. Despite all efforts to preserve them, the Maori, as a race, are doomed, and ere long will have disappeared. The Australian "Blacks" are rapidly following the now extinct Tasmanians.

In India, again, some of our aboriginal races are dying out, and most of them are changing. "Progress" is in the air everywhere, and we shall soon lose much of the material out of which their past histories might have been recovered. I have known one group of the "head hunting" Naga since the year 1865, and was particularly struck at the change in them when I visited one tribe in 1883, to collect implements, dress and weapons, for the Calcutta Exhibition. Where things had formerly been good and plentiful, I found many either quite unprocurable, or so bad and sophisticated as to be useless or even misleading. The singular "kyep," or hide cuirass, (identical with that still seen in the island of Nias, West Sumatra) used during

raids and forays to protect the body from arrows and spear thrusts, was quite given up, thanks to the introduction of firearms. I had to wait a whole week while men went to villages on the back ranges for most of the things. Taken in time, however, there are probably few tribes which, if carefully examined, would fail to yield something of value, as illustrating tribal history or elucidating racial questions of interest.

But the desirability of a more intimate knowledge of the habits and customs of our own semi-savage races can be placed on higher grounds. It is often difficult, or almost impossible, to avoid administrative mistakes when legislating for the benefit of extremely ignorant races, in consequence of our limited knowledge of their customs. Not many years ago an attempt was made to curtail the system of "jhum" cultivation near Darjiling. The local chief, anxious to please, promised co-operation, but as the event proved no effect was produced. A considerable amount of correspondence ensued, deploring the stupidity of those who thus needlessly shifted their cultivation sites and wantonly destroyed valuable forest.

To this day it is very generally believed that "jhumming" is resorted to in consequence of impoverishment of the soil after a two-year cropping, and that for some unknown reason the exhaustion is so great that a third crop would result in failure. Yet, as is so often the case, the solution for this long-standing enigma is simplicity itself if studied *in situ*. It is due, in almost all instances, to the rapid development of grasses, whose minute seeds at times fill the air in millions, and germinating on the cleared sites, send their roots among the stones, whence they cannot be eradicated by the primitive culture available. In the 3rd and 4th year the growth of grasses is so rank that a grain crop is hopeless, and the site is abandoned. Creepers and young trees however soon kill out these grasses, which cannot grow in shade, and by the 7th or 8th year the abandoned jhums are re-afforested, and ready in turn for re-jhumming.

One of the main things to notice in this system is that each village community, nay each family, needs about 7 and 8 times as much land to raise the crops on as by other methods, and on the different hill sites the plots are all generally marked by paths, streams, or khuds.

Though the private right in these plots is religiously respected, yet individuals may not jhum them when they please: these are communal matters, and are settled at communal councils.

The barbarous custom of "head hunting," again, is one which it is most desirable to study *in situ*, and appears to offer far more promise of successful legislative interference. It is practically a deeply-rooted fashion, and by no means a necessity like "jhumming."

Among many tribes it has been given up, and where it is still in vogue seems largely due to the young women chaffing the young men who are not tattooed, or otherwise distinguished as "Braves." But inasmuch as at least half the heads taken are those of women and children, this decoration, as a test of bravery, is now heavily discounted by all parties, and very little pressure by the paramount power would put an end to a custom which, there is good reason to believe, is already unpopular among the rising generation.

A fairly safe estimate—judging by the skulls in the Morongs—would give about 12,000 murders, in about 40 years, on an area roughly 20 miles square.

Between the years 1865 and 1880, I had good opportunities of becoming well acquainted with one large group of these "head hunters" lying between the Disang and Dikhu rivers, south-east of Sibsagar, Assam.

In a hazy way I thought I knew a lot about them, visited their hills and villages, employed them in clearing land, &c.

It was not until I had left the neighbourhood, and lost my chances for some years, that I began to see how little I really knew regarding them, and what a vast mine of most valuable information—much needed by savants—lay for years alongside me unheeded.

When I began to read systematically works on the Pacific and Malay Archipelago, it slowly dawned on me that our "Naga," were nothing more or less than Northern Dyaks: that the notorious "head hunters" of Borneo, judging by their physique, houses, modes of cultivation and warfare—by their dress, arms, and even down to trivial details, were not only allied, but closely related racially, to my former savage friends.

But the more carefully the matter was looked into, the more obvious it became that these same races extended still further afield, and are seen in the Battak of central Sumatra and the equally savage "head hunters" of Formosa, whose dress, arms, houses, physique, and customs are also almost identical with our savages, and obviously of the same stock. For the first time I got a practical glimpse of the outskirts of the greatest of our Ethnographic problems, in the origin, development, and intercrossing and migrations of the various races overlying the Africo-Indo-Australoid aboriginals of the Indian and Indo-Pacific region.

Here, and in our own times, we see the Kuki move north, followed by the Lushai, who in turn are pressed forward by others. The Mikir once inhabited the Jaintia Hills, and are now, I hear, beginning to cross to the north bank in small numbers. Before our eyes, in our own day, the Miri are slowly and surely extending westwards. In our

Naga Hills the new villages are almost invariably to the north of the old ones.

As an illustration, let us examine the group lying between Disang River and Dikhu, south-east of Sibsagar.

Taken in the main the Naga, so-called, extend from E. Long. $96^{\circ}10'$ near the Namrup river, in a south-westerly direction, through all the hills bordering Assam, to the confines of Manipur and Kachar. How far they extend to the south of the Patkai is unknown. Except on the extreme north-east and along the border next Assam, they are not sharply marked off by either physique, customs, or language, from adjacent races. The Angami having Bodo or Kachari affinities, and Rengma closely allied to both, and also Mikir. Singularly enough the Mishmi, who seem to have been cut off from this alliance by the Shan and Singphu intrusion, are said to be most closely allied to the Kuki, one at each extremity of the long Naga series, and both of a ruder, and archaic type. Both physically, linguistically, and in customs, weapons, &c., there is said to be less difference between the Mishmi and Kuki than there is between the Mishmi and the adjoining Abor-Miri. Like most other savage tribes, the Naga fall into large sub-groups, which are again generally subdivided, and the term "Naga" appears to be a comparatively recent Anglo-Bengalism, probably derived from the word 'Noga,' by which they were known for centuries to the Assamese. This in turn has undoubtedly been derived from the word 'Nok' which means *folk*, in some of the hill dialects. When strange parties of them meet in the plains we hear them ask "Tem Nok é," or "O Nok é," i. e., *What folk are you?* and the term is self-explanatory in such village names as "Nok pan," *people of the tree*, "Nok rang," *the folk in the sky*, "Nok jan," *the folk at the iron* (mines), &c. The late Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, informed me that he had little doubt that "Nok" was no other than the Bengali *Lok* (or *log*) to which we are almost daily accustomed. It is worth noting that the Khonds call themselves *Kui loka*, and the Uraons call themselves "Ku nok," *the folk or men*, *Ku* being the defining prefix, as in *Ku Mi*, *the men*, seen in the race having that name. So that the term "Naga" seems to have nothing whatever to do with snakes and snake-worship, as often supposed, at least among these races.

But returning to the question of the possibility of unearthing some local history from these people ere it has faded for ever, let us examine a little closer the group lying between the Disang and Dikhu rivers and north of Patkai. On this area we find a well-marked section, composed of some 46 villages, now split up into some 8 or 10 distinct sub-tribes, often at war with one another, yet all reputed to be descen-

dants of one village called "Chang Nu: a sort of tribe-mother to whom many of them salaam, and annually send small presents, which, however, are not tribute. A peculiar proof that all these 46 villages, and 8 or 10 tribes, are a distinct sub-group, is seen in the fact that over this area, and not east or west of it, the houses have a remarkable peculiarity; the central row of posts project from 4 to 8 feet above the ridge-pole, and they are lowered down, through the roof as they decay below, in the ground. The tattoo marks on the face are also practically the same all over this area, though the dialects vary slightly, as usual among "head hunters," through frequent isolation.

The subdivision of a tribe into clans, and the origin of totems, are even yet looked on as obscure features. In Australia and also among some Indian races, the totem is frequently held sacred, and clan development has long ceased; but in the group of Nagas above mentioned, we can trace both clan development and the origin of the totem pretty clearly. Some 20 years ago, and after considerable trouble, I made out a rough map (ere the survey was taken) of the villages on this area, pinning out on a large board variously colored gun wads, each village of a tribe being of the same color. Thus, "Changnu" and its sub-villages were all red, all the "Yanu," or Joboka, blue, the "Zu," or Banpara, green, &c., and by dint of repeatedly cross-questioning the more intelligent old men, I got, after two or three years, a glimpse of the tribal migrations, and sequence of the offshoots. An approximate means of obtaining dates was afforded in some cases by tabulating the list of chiefs, at any village after its foundation, or before or after any notable event. Thus, there were eight successive chiefs (say 25 years each) in "Changnu" after its foundation, ere the Zu, Runu, or Banpara, split off, and travelling N. E. as a horde, established themselves on their present site, displacing a former race called the "Mopia," who were driven down into the plains and amalgamated with races already there. After several generations an offshoot from Runu founded Wanu, and later on another swarm from Runu (called the Hoyan Khel) split off, and travelling north-east, *viâ* Chopnu, asked for and got a chief, and settled at Rusa. This chief's family dying out, they asked for and got another one from Yanu, or Yansa (Joboka), and this accounts for the otherwise inexplicable fact that when Chopnu and Rusa are at feud with Runu (or Banpara), the Yansa (or Joboka) invariably join the former, and thus place Runu between two fires.

It seems that there have been about 12 generations in Zu or Runu, (Banpara of the Assamese), since its foundation. The names of the chiefs are as follow:—

1, Rangtok; 2, Rami; 3, Long mai; 4, Tin san; 5, O, ra; 6, A

vang; 7, Lo vang; 8, Ra long; 9, Kam vang; 10, Lai vang; 11, Ting pong; 12, Pan bang.

Taking 25 years to a generation, the age of this tribal offshoot of Sangnu would equal approximately 300 years, and if we count the eight generations in Changnu, ere Zu split off, at the same duration, or, say, 200 years, we get a total of 500 years as possibly the age of Changnu, or A. D. 1350. There are reasons for believing that, if anything, the above is under-estimated. On examining the map we find the most remarkable proof of the slow northerly or north-easterly drift of these races in the names of many of their villages. Among them all, "Nu" means mother, larger, older; and "Sa" means, the child, younger, smaller. Yannu is thus the parent of Yansa (to the north), though the latter is by far the larger and most important village nowadays. Rusa again we find north-east of Runu, Chopsa is north-east of Chopnu; Chasa is north-east of Chanu, Changsa is north of Changnu. In the cases of Niaosa and Nisa alone do we find any of the "new towns" to the south, and it seems that it has been due to the advantages of a fine unoccupied site for 'jhum' lying in that direction, and not far off. We see precisely the same evidence lying east of the Disang river among the Bordurias, or "Le nu," whose villages, eight or ten in number, lie to the south of those of the Namsangia, or "Le sa." Now there is a tradition among some of the people of those hills that in long times past they drove another race out before them into the plains, a race called the "Mopia." I have frequently been invited to go and examine the sites of some five of these Mopia perched villages and satisfy myself of the truth of the above. From superstitious motives these old sites are not now built on by the present race, and the names of these departed villages are Ting Koi, Mo kan, Mo boko, Ting ra, and O Hoak, and the proofs that they were the village sites of a preceding and now departed race are exceedingly beautiful. Although for hundreds of years these sites have not been built on, and some are at times partially 'jhumed,' there are, to this day, the deeply-worn footmarks of the past generations of women and girls, in the rocks leading down to the water-springs in the gullies at the village; footmarks not cut or chipped, but slowly worn out by the bare feet of those passing up and down daily for centuries, ere their race passed away for ever. But as a glimpse of past history in these hills, this is not all; for tradition speaks of a still earlier people with the suggestive name of "Mainak nok," or Monkey folk, whose stone implements, or arrow and spearheads, are now reported to be found over all the hills occasionally. When found they are not touched by hand, but are lifted by a dao, and thrown down the nearest khud. Thus, as we see by the result of a few casual enquiries made many

years ago, without any clearly defined aim, we may rest assured that a sustained and systematic survey would reveal a great deal of not only interesting but valuable information.

A carefully worked out monograph, well illustrated by vocabularies, by maps, sketches, and above all by photographs, of such a group as that of the "head-hunters" above referred to, would be invaluable to anthropologists, and would enable us the better to understand these semi-savage races. But over and above questions of affinity and local history and questions of administrative utility, there looms one of steadily increasing interest which a careful study of these people is pre-eminently calculated to solve: namely the question of the origin of marriage and the family.

We appear to be rather rapidly approaching a momentous reformation in regard to our views of social evolution. Until comparatively recently it was generally supposed that "the family" had always been the primal element of the society: that from the earliest times, the institution of "marriage," whether by capture, elopement, or peaceful arrangement, had been in vogue. Sir John Lubbock, it is true, had ventured the opinion that "marriage" (or the appropriation of one particular female by any man) was preceded by a stage of communism, a view which has been more or less virulently assailed. But it is beginning to dawn on those who have studied these questions, among savage or primitive races, that such a phase of social evolution was after all not only possible but probable: indeed that it may eventually be found as the only feasible solution for many strange survivals, otherwise quite enigmatical. It is a remarkable fact that, though the Australian races are so low in the social scale, having apparently always been (like the late Tasmanians) semi-nomadic, and unable to cultivate, or to build permanent houses, yet the earlier stages of social development and the origin of marriage, are less likely to be traced among them than among the races in India. Dr. E. B. Tylor points out in his preface to Ling Roth's "Tasmanians," that these people were found in the chipped-stone, or Paleolithic stage of development, yet their social arrangements, like those of the Australians, exhibited the institution of marriage very distinctly developed. The leading feature in all cases being that the female slave (called by courtesy the wife) was the man's private property. "In all stages of life the female was the property of some male—when young of her father or his heirs, and later on of her husband." Whether the Australians on first landing on the continent had the institution fully developed or not is uncertain; but it is obvious that from the very nature of the surroundings it would be rapidly developed. The value of a female slave as a food-

gatherer, nurse, and general servant, would be obvious. Referring to this matter Lieut.-Colonel T. L. Mitchell in his "Three Expeditions in East Australia," Vol. I, p. 307, says :—"Considering the industry of the *Gins*, in making mats, sewing cloaks, mussel-fishing, rooting, and their patient submission to labour, always carrying the bags which contain the whole property of the family, the value of a *Gin* to one of those lazy fellows may be easily imagined. Accordingly, the possession of them appears to be associated with all their ideas of fighting, and they go over to the victors after a battle." This very conspicuous development of the institution of marriage amongst the lowest races of mankind, naturally led many to infer that it had existed in all ages, and was not preceded by any other form of sexual association.

For many years now, the peculiar social systems seen in Australia have been made a special study by *savants*. Here the rules of kinship, and clan sub-division are peculiar and elaborate, and it was thought until recently that the aim of their exogamic restrictions was to frustrate the inter-marriage of near kin. The tribe or clan was almost invariably divided in two or four sub-groups, each with its totem, between the members of which alone marriage was possible, and within each of which it was not permitted. Thus an Emu could not marry an Emu, but could marry a Kangaru, and *vice versa*. But as E. M. Curr has observed, "the system, as one writer has remarked, seems too intricate to have been the invention of tribes so low down in the scale of mental capacity as ours." And this view is now rapidly gaining ground, and the belief that these singular exogamic customs are a natural growth from a stage wherein there were communal groups is in the ascendant: in fact that tribal, and not blood incest was the social sin; that the monopoly of any particular tribal girl by a male member was resented as a social offence. Thus "marriage" would be possible only, as Sir John Lubbock suggests, by capture of a girl from another clan or tribe, possibly at times by elopement, or later on by exchanges. When in Australia lately I had the pleasure of meeting the Reverend Lorimer Fison, and also Mr. A. W. Howitt, both of whom are anthropological experts, and have for many years closely studied the local customs. The results of their investigations seem to show that the Australian marriage rules belong to a more archaic stage of society,—to a communal stage, in which intercourse was unrestrained, and even consanguine. The traces of this former era are nowadays but dimly visible, but are occasionally unmistakable. Formerly, among the tribes of Gippsland for instance, each recurrence of the Aurora Australis, was interpreted as an exhibition of the wrath of the Great Spirit at their departure from the *ancient customs*, and the peculiar rites practiced during this

orgie leave no doubt whatever that consanguine intercourse was common in the past, and that the horror of incest was not the cause of the present exogamic marriage customs. It is notorious to all who have had much experience of them, that "savages have no morals," as we understand the term. From America, Africa, Asia, Polynesia, the Archipelago, and Australia we hear the same story repeated, and hence it is singular to find that formerly so many writers attributed the Australian exogamic marriage laws to the savage's dread of consanguine alliances, the more so when from the very nature of the case there could be practically little or no supervision of the young of both sexes in the camps. If persistent and disastrous results invariably followed consanguine marriages, we could understand that the Australian aborigines would be naturally led to view them unfavorably and to institute social laws, against them. But the evils are debated.

The prevalence of exogamic customs, therefore, over such large areas and among so many races would seem to shew that it is a quite natural development from a stage of group communism; that in all cases, as before stated, it was the monopoly of a communal female and not close blood alliance which was the sin. It is very strange, but nevertheless very true, that many writers on this subject appear to have had little or no practical knowledge of savages, whose peculiar and often startling social customs they desire to interpret. As a necessary consequence, some of the interpretations are occasionally of a startling nature, having been arrived at through a process of highly civilized theorizing.

Too often, it seems to me, we are apt to judge the savage by our own civilized standards, and it is notorious that he returns the compliment with compound interest. The distinction between sexual intercourse and marriage, which with us is in ethical theory *nil*, was with savages profound; one was a recognized and regulated juvenile amusement, whereas "marriage" within the social group, would be a social crime. While intercourse with a group sister was no crime, her seclusion, or monopoly, by "marriage" would be intolerable and resented by all tribal brothers. Yet the members of a group or clan were all called "one blood" (as in Australia), and hence has arisen our supposition that exogamy was deliberately instituted by races confessedly destitute of morals to avoid doing that which was a notorious habit; not only in past times, but in our own. Among our Oraon, Sontal, Munda, Malé, Savars, Kharias, Kands, Gonds, Juangs, and other totemistic, ruder non-Aryan races, amongst whom we find, at times, a more or less complete communal association, with barracks also for the unmarried and sexual liberty before *adult* marriage, we learn that the

"liaisons between girls and boys in the same village (commune) seldom end in marriage." In other words sexual intercourse within the Totem is permitted and even provided for, but marriage is not allowed, and when it takes place outside, is often a mimic capture. Thus "exogamy" appears to have been a quite natural, or even inevitable, development from a communal group stage. The view that the primary element in human social evolution was the family seems to be giving way, the more we examine closely into these matters, to a belief that this element was the communal horde, in which there was no marriage, yet at the same time no social chaos, for wherever we meet with free intercourse before marriage, among our non-Aryan, Insular, Pacific, or African races, we find it carefully, and at times elaborately, guarded by laws and etiquette.

Many of the proofs of this communal, or pre-regulated marriage era, are undoubtedly to be found in India, and probably among our non-Aryan aboriginals of Bengal and also our eastern hill races, where so many essentially communistic customs are in full force.* Ere leaving Australia, Mr. Fison and others warmly urged me to pursue these enquiries, if possible, and to unearth all the available evidence sought by savants, so as to place the matter, one way or the other, beyond dispute. The singular communal barracks for young unmarried men, and occasionally young women, referred to by me in the *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. lxi, Part II, No. 3, 1892, seem to be the relics of a former communal era. The enormous geographical range of this custom, which extended from the Marquesas, on the east, all across Polynesia and the Archipelago to West Africa, and from the Himalaya in the North to New Zealand in the South, demonstrates its extreme antiquity. It preceded, in fact, the differentiation of both physique and language over this vast area.

Careful study of such a group, say, as the "head-hunting" Naga, ere they are reformed and hopelessly sophisticated, would undoubtedly tend to clear up these and many other most interesting and important anthropological problems, not only of local, but of truly world-wide and lasting value. The information gained in regard to the possibility of terminating these head-hunting feuds, of better understanding and perhaps curing eventually, the custom of jhuming, of opening up these hills generally to trade, and glimpsing the races beyond the Patkai, so far unseen, would also be of administrative value.

* Such as Polyandry, where several brothers have one wife in common, or the Punaluan family marriage, wherein brothers hold their wives in common, and sisters their husbands.

On Flint Implements from the Kon ravines of South Mirzapore.—By JOHN COCKBURN, Asst. S. Dept., Opium Agent, Meja Road, E. I. R.

With Plates IV, V and VI.

This series of implements, 43 in number, was found in some deep ravines near the village of Kon, in South Mirzapore. The locality was originally discovered by me. These ravines seem to have cut through a Neolithic burial ground, as well as through the site of an implement manufactory, and I found tolerably perfect human calvaria together with glazed earthenware cups, stone hammers and flakes and spalls, &c., precisely similar to others I have found in such interments, when exposed by denudation. In many cases I have seen a perfect section of the grave exposed. I noticed two such at Barkacha,¹ five miles south of the town of Mirzapore, and again at Mozufferpore, near the stone dam over the Chunderpurba river, in the family domains of the Maharaja of Benares.

However, the implements to-day exhibited are none of them from graves. So numerous are waste flint chips in this locality (properly called spalls), that I collected several hundredweight, and after roughly picking out the choicer specimens buried the remainder under a marked tree, in a *câche*. Some time in 1883, I directed Mr. Hodges, Executive Engineer, then on special duty in Mirzapore, to the locality, and he employed the men I had trained to search for him, and some of his specimens are, I believe, in the Lucknow Museum.

Recently Mr. W. Croke, C. S., Collector of Mirzapore and Director of the Ethnographical Survey, has visited the locality, and sent some of the flint chips he found to the Society—(see paper by Dr. W. King in the *Proceedings A. S. B.*, Feb. 1893, p. 53). The site, however, is Neolithic rather than Palæolithic, and I have here obtained some of the most perfect specimens of Neolithic stone industry found in India. Among them was a flat stone bangle made of slate, which had clearly been turned

¹ I was present at the excavation of two of these graves at Barkacha. The bodies lay north and south, within stone circles about 12 feet in diameter. They were extremely deep, from 6 to 8 feet. One contained the fossilized skeleton of an adult human male, of large size, with a flat dish of glazed pottery at the head, and one at each corner of the tomb. One of the articles found was a long, narrow lachrymal vase of green glass about 7 inches long. The other was not completely excavated, and contained two stone hammers and sundry flint flakes. The first body lay on a thick stone slab. I entered some dozens of built-up cairn graves here, but found every one of them had been rifled of their contents, probably by Nuts or Conjurs.

on the lathe. I also found many perfect specimens of flat oblong polished celts of diorite. These specimens are shown in Figs. 37 to 40 but as the lithograph is from a photograph of the specimens as they lay flat on their sides an imperfect idea of their beauty and shape is conveyed. One of the celts, a highly finished and polished specimen of black basalt of the usual lanceolate type, had the side edges square and flattened, and is probably the first specimen of its class found in India, though they are common enough in England. This specimen is Fig. 41, Plate VI, and is unfortunately broken in halves.

I have recently unearthed the specimen from among others in my collection and it is of great beauty and made of very hard material.

It is almost a *facsimile* of the specimen figured at p. 105, Fig. 59, of Evans' "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain."

I also found half of a remarkable glans-shaped object of polished diorite with a perforation down the centre, the use of which I have not been able to discover. I have also again recovered this specimen which I thought I had lost.

From the great skill with which it had been perforated in a hard material, there can be little doubt that it belonged to highly advanced people of the stone age. The base did not exceed $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in diameter with a depth of probably 3 inches. Ring-stones and hammers were also common. Two of the former (ring-stones) are to be seen at Figs. 13 and 22, Plates IV and V.

The specimens are not accessible to me at present, being stored, such as are not lost, in the godowns of a distant *koti*. The evidence is quite enough to show that the locality was Neolithic. On the other hand, the greatest interest attaches to the fact that well-marked Palæolithic types of chipped chert heart-shaped celts are very common, as well as a discoidal type of implements shown at Figs. 2, 3 4, 6 and 26. Of these Figs. 3 and 4 give a good idea, Fig. 21 is a side view of an indifferent heart-shaped celt; of this type, Figs. 26 to 36 which also represent these heart-shaped celts give no idea of their form. Neither the celts nor the discoidal implements would have caused comment had they been found at the Hinoutee Palæolithic locality, described by me in my paper on "Palæolithic Implements from the drift gravels of the Singrauli Basin, South Mirzapore," *Journal Anthropological Institute*, London 1887, pp. 57-65, except that chert implements are not common there, the bulk of them being quartzite; yet I have half a dozen good specimens of implements of chert from Hinoutee. One of these discoidal implements from Hinoutee made of chert, was declared by Mr. C. H. Read, in the discussion which followed the reading of my paper and exhibition of specimens, to correspond exactly in shape and color,

with specimens found in Suffolk, England, though the discoidal type, with an edge all round, is not common in England. The question here arises, must this intermingling of Palæolithic and Neolithic forms in the same locality be regarded as an accidental selection of the same site by two peoples at different ages or stages of civilization, or were both forms made and used together. I prefer to believe that they were made and used together in this particular locality. There is no reason why a *hâche*, or rude chipped hatchet of flint, should not be as serviceable as a polished hatchet of the same material. Indeed, as flint and chert are better and more efficient cutting implements, as the edge keeps chipping away and thus renewing itself, there is strong reason to believe that a roughly chipped flint axe was preferable to a polished one of the same material. The only hard materials of the quartz family that I have hitherto found polished, have been agate beads and bracelets, doubtless also of great antiquity, and of the stone age. The fact of the well made flakes and javelins and arrow-heads being of the same chert as the chipped celts and discoidal implements, is much in favor of their having been made at the same time. At the risk of being branded an antiquarian infidel, I must disclaim my belief in the theory that Palæolithic man did not possess sufficient intelligence to sharpen the edge of a hatchet by grinding, a process that the boar and stag perform every day with their natural weapons, while the wild elephant grinds his tusks to a lovely chisel-edge. I have myself found Palæolithic chipped implements of chert, of manufacture equal to the best Neolithic, in undoubted Palæolithic localities and alongside typical rough Palæolithic *hâches* of quartzite. This convinces me, that no want of knowledge of the art of grinding an edge to an implement prevented Palæolithic man from giving a high finish to his weapons; though a want of a capacity for taking trouble is eminently a savage trait. The implements used by pre-historic man, when he wandered, a heavy-fanged and nameless savage, half brute half man, along the banks of rivers or the sea shore, was a rudely split pebble. At the same time I am prepared to admit that the two ages may, and must have overlapped, and that the cases met with by me may have been instances of such overlap.¹ Similar instances of superior workmanship occur among implements from the river-drift in England. Figure 435 of Evans' "*Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*" is an instance in point (from Tanton, Downham). This very closely resembles my finest chert Palæolithic specimen from Hinoutee (now in the British Museum), except that my specimen is circular in outline.

¹ The now extinct Tasmanians apparently never progressed beyond the Palæolithic stage of stone implement manufacture.

It will be observed that the chipped implements are all made of a black siliceous material closely resembling flint, called chert. It is probably of the same origin as the flint of the cretaceous formation, *i. e.*, derived from the siliceous bodies of sponges and other marine animals at some depth under the sea. There can be no doubt that the chert is derived from the Lower Vindhian limestone rocks in the vicinity. Indeed, the Lower Vindhian strata crop up in the ravines themselves, and at the southern margin of the ravines abut against the red gneiss of South Mirzapore. From the large size of the implements exhibited, there can be no doubt whatever that this was an exceptionally favorable locality for procuring chert in large blocks, probably the finest on the borders of the Sone. There is only one other locality in India where flakes of similar dimensions and workmanship have been found, and that is near Rohri in Sind; and in this case the material was true nummulitic flint, and the flakes produced from it are so perfect that they could hardly be matched with the pick of the specimens from Denmark.

There can be little doubt that very fine specimens of arrow-heads, spears and daggers will be found at Rohri when searched for by an expert anthropologist, and I shall be happy to visit the locality if given facilities for so doing.

Figures 8, 10, and 12, are typical chert flake knives from Kon. They are of the usual type of flint knife. Specimen Fig. 8 has lost half an inch of its length while in my possession, but is shown in its perfect state in the Plate.

A comparison of these specimens with Nos. A, B, C, D, Agate* flakes from the rock shelters of South Mirzapore (the Sorhow cave), will at once show their comparatively gigantic size. These Kon flakes are about the same size as the finest of English and Irish specimens. It must be here understood that these flakes, though often half the size of the fine specimens from Presigny, in France, as in the example figured at p. 28 of Evans' "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," Fig. 6, have the merit of having their bevels made at a single blow. The very large French and English examples have all their ridges trimmed by secondary blows administered at right angles to their length, so as to form the ridge. Nos. 8 and 10 come under Evans' definition of flat flakes having had a flake struck off the ridge. No. 3 is a ridged flake and was probably intended to be made into a spear-head. No. 20 is a typical flint knife. Examples of large coarse flakes 10 and 12 inches

* A. B. C. D. are Agate flakes from the Sorhow cave, South Mirzapore, and E. is a core from which such flakes are struck. They are to be exhibited along with the Kon specimens to show the variation in size and material. No figures of these have been given.

long, and rivalling the largest European specimen will be seen at Figs. 15, 16, 17 and 18.

Specimen 14 is a huge flat flake from Kon and is a beautiful specimen of the flint-knapper's art. It is so broad and flat that, it was probably used as a celt mounted in a handle. The specimen has seemingly lost about half its length, being fractured across its length. It is represented in Fig. 23. It is well worth figuring in outline and section, as, I believe, but few like it in width have ever been found in any part of the world.

Fig. 20, is, I take it, a javelin head, and I saw specimens in obsidian precisely like it from New Caledonia, in the Calcutta Exhibition of 1883-84. They were mounted in short handles, cemented to the shaft with some resinous material. A very similar specimen from the Admiralty Islands, is figured by Heape. ("Album of the Pacific Islands," Plate 361, Fig. 2.) The specimen bears very distinct traces of notching at the base so as to adapt it to a socket; and there can be no doubt whatever as to the use to which it was intended to be put.

No. VII is an arrow-head from Kon, and is a very fine specimen of its class. There is a peculiarity about the head that would in itself impart a rotary motion to an arrow. I have in my possession a modern iron arrow-head* which I procured from a Baiga in Mirzapore, in which this peculiarity is intentionally reproduced. This is the now well-known principle on which the head of the Kaffir assagai is formed, and it has the effect of causing perfect rotation, so much so, that the slender shaft of an assagai in flight has an undulating spiral movement. The concavity and convexity of the flint arrow-head from Kon are not very apparent in the specimen itself, though quite sufficient, in my opinion, to give the desired rotary motion. It is very well marked in specimen No. VIII† looked

* I should mention that the Baiga disclaimed any knowledge of the effects of this curve, and, indeed, stated that he had found the arrow-head in the jungles; and as it is somewhat rusted, it may be a century or so old, and represent a lost art. The arrow, moreover, was strongly feathered with the chestnut primary feathers of the peacock, and it occurred to me that the spiral imparted by these might be antagonistic to the spiral of the arrow-head; but I found that the feathers were so attached at the end, near the notch, that the passage of the arrow through the air caused the three feathers to dispose themselves in a spiral round the shaft. I have constantly seen a savage straighten these feathers after picking up the arrow.

The Zulu Kaffirs do not seem to be generally aware of the properties of the assagai-heads they use, and it is doubtful if the average volunteer rifleman could reproduce or explain the principle of the rifling in his weapon.

† VIII. Found at the mouth of the Gopit Godowle cave, in the Purwa Jagir, Banda. [These Roman numbers and others not agreeing with figures in the plates probably refer to specimens in the writer's own collection.—Ed. Part III.]

at endwise, either point first, or butt-end towards the eye. In either case the form of the bend of a screw is clearly discernible in a well-marked sloping curve. This form is clearly due to the peculiar conchoidal fracture of flint and chert, the convexity being on one side of the bulb of percussion which is well marked, and the concavity on the other. These curves seem to have been prolonged along the entire length of the fracture. There can be no doubt that our iron implements, such as hammers, daggers and spear-heads, are copies of previous forms in stone, and this theory on the form of the arrow-head is by no means far-fetched, and is further capable of demonstration by experiment, *viz.*, mounting the arrow-head on a shaft and firing it from a bow (on soft ground), with a thread attached loose along the shaft, tied behind the arrow-head—a spiral motion communicated to the arrow would have the effect of winding the thread round the shaft. As to the beauty of some of the ancient models of stone implements, I may mention that I am now having reproduced in steel, a hammer on the pattern of that figured at page 187 of Evans' "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," Fig. 137. I have never seen a modern iron hammer come up to this for elegance or utility of design.

The last specimen to be described is shown in Plate IV, Fig. 11. This implement is believed to be of a type never before found in India, and is, I am inclined to think, a spear or rather halberd-head. The material of which it is made well exemplifies the characteristics of chert as distinguished from flint, the nearest approach to flint being in No. 8 of the collection. The chert of which the halberd-head is made shows on its weathered surface numerous black crystalline bodies with the appearance of specks and dashes, no doubt due to the presence of some foreign mineral.

This implement though rudely made and approaching the palæolithic specimens in material and roughness of manufacture, yet bears evidence of design. A somewhat similar implement from Honduras is in the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, and is figured by Stevens in "Flint Chips."

It is of very much ruder construction, and, possibly, the supplementary conical blade was a part of the stone from which the implement was made, and instead of being trimmed off by chipping was utilized as an additional part of the weapon. However, when it is recollected how important a part projecting spikes play in the war-clubs of savages, notably among the North American Indians, it will at once be seen that this implement mounted in a short stout handle, could be used both for thrusting, and as a club. The projecting spike, in a downward blow, would act with most deadly effect on the cranium of an adversary.

In concluding this paper I would like to draw the attention of travellers to the very fine field for pre-historic research that exists in this part of India. All along the Southern border of the Gangetic valley in the older alluvium fringing the Vindhians and Kymores and as far south of those hills as I have been in Sergoojah and Rurah, the soil teems with fragmentary remains of ancient stone weapons. I have picked up as many as 50 perfect chert knives and two broken celts in a cotton field within 500 yards of my bungalow at Banda, and do not remember ever having gone out on a search for implements to return unrewarded. In this branch of archæology India is almost an unexplored country considering the abundance of the materials. Mr. A. C. L. Carleyb of the Archæological Survey, made a very fine collection of stone implements in Bundelkhand, but apparently has not yet published on the subject and his collection is in England. He has ample materials for a volume on the subject.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES IV, V and VI.

Plate IV.

Fig. I. Waste chip or spall of quartzite struck in the manufacture of a Palæolithic celt—Loc. Hinouttee, S. Mirzapore.

Figs. 2, 3, 4 and 6. Discoidal implements of chert from Kon.

Figs. 5 to 7. Pointed flakes of chert; Kon.

Figs. 9-10. Large flake knives of black chert; Kon.

Fig. 11. Stone halberd-head of chert.

Figs. 12, 14. Large flakes of chert.

Pl. V.

Fig. 15. Large flake of chert.

Fig. 16. Stone chert like the New Zealand Merai.

Figs. 17, 18 and 19. Large sized flakes of chert.

Fig. 20. Javelin head of chert.

Fig. 21. Chert celt from the Kon ravines.

Fig. 22. Broken ring-stone of chert; Kon.

Figs. 23, 24 and 25. Oblong celts of polished diorite; Kon.

Pl. VI.

Figs. 26 to 36. Three-quarter edge view of chert celts from Kon.

Figs. 37, 38, 39, and 40. Polished oblong celts of diorite from the Kon ravines.

Fig. 41. Broken polished celt of black basalt with squared sides.

Fig. 42. Small oblong celt of green quartz; Kon.

Fig. 43. Large flat stone knife of pink Tirhowan cherty limestone.—Loc., Chopan.



The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal. Communicated by the
ANTHROPOLOGICAL SECRETARY, *from the papers of the late DR. JAMES WISE.*

THE most interesting fact revealed by the census of 1872 was the enormous host of Muhammadans resident in Lower Bengal—not massed around the old capitals, but in the alluvial plains of the Delta. In Dacca, for instance, the Muhammadans were very slightly in excess of the Hindus; in Maldah they formed 46 per cent. of the population; in Murshidábád 45 per cent.; and in Patna only 12 per cent. On the other hand, in the swampy tracts of Báqirganj, Tipperah, and Mymensingh they comprised nearly 54 per cent. of the people. This result was unexpected, and contrary to the conclusions arrived at from earlier inquiries, which, though obviously defective, were generally accepted as almost correct.

The history of the spread of the Muhammadan faith in Lower and Eastern Bengal is a subject of such vast importance at the present day as to merit a careful and minute examination.

The farther we advance in our knowledge of the early history of Bengal the more certain is it, that previous to the eighteenth century the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal far exceeded the Muhammadan in numbers, and as late as the sixteenth century three of the five Bhúyas, or leaders, of Lower Bengal, were Hindu chiefs commanding Hindu armies.

The enthusiastic soldiers, who, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, spread the faith of Islám among the timid races of Bengal, made forcible conversions by the sword, and, penetrating the dense forests of the Eastern frontier, planted the crescent in the villages of Silhet. Tradition still preserves the names of Adam Shahíd, Sháh Jalál Mújarad, and Kárfármá Çáhib, as three of the most successful of these enthusiasts.

As early as A.D. 1338 a Muhammadan king ruled over the Eastern districts from Sunnárgaon, and for a century and a half that city was the provisional residence of the rulers of Bengal. Although situated on the borders of the Empire, and surrounded by brave and aggressive races, Sunnárgaon attracted crowds of holy men, whose mouldering tombs still mark the site of the ancient city. From it was summoned the preceptor, who trained Jaláluddín in the doctrines of his intolerant creed, and to its families of Khwánd-Kárs, Eastern Bengal looked for its

supply of Muhammadan instructors. During the five centuries and a half of Muhammadan rule in Eastern Bengal, we only hear of one wholesale persecution of the subject Hindus, and that was waged by Jaláluddín, from A.D. 1414 to 1430. The only conditions he offered were the Koran, or death; and it is said that, rather than submit to such terms, many Hindus fled to Kámrúp, and the jungles of Assam and Kachhár, but it is nevertheless probable that more Muhammadans were added to Islám during these seventeen years than in the next three hundred.

In Muhammadan histories no mention is made of any large Muhammadan immigration from Upper India; and we know that in the reign of Akbar the climate of Bengal was considered so uncongenial to the Mughal invaders, that an order to proceed thither was regarded as a sentence of banishment. The Viceroys and nobles governing Bengal amassed wealth rapidly, and returned to spend it in the luxurious palaces of Delhi and Agra, while only a few officers and private soldiers, having married into native families, remained and settled in their new homes. While, therefore, each seat of government, and each military station, was in early times more or less a centre of missionary agitation, we find another agency from across the seas working towards the same ends, uninfluenced by the policy of the Delhi Court. On the south-eastern frontier of Bengal, a hardy and enterprising class of Muhammadans have been settled from the earliest historical times; and long before the first European landed at Chittagong, Arab merchants carried on an extensive and lucrative trade with its inhabitants, and disseminated their religious ideas among the people. How or when the dwellers on that coast became Mussulmán is unknown,¹ but when Barbosa visited Bengal at the beginning of the sixteenth century, he found the inhabitants of the interior, Gentiles, subject to the King of Bengal, who was a Moor; while the seaports were inhabited by Moors and Gentiles. He also met with many foreigners, both Arabs, Persians, Abyssinians, and Indians, and adds, "Every day many Gentiles turn Moors, to obtain the favour of the king and governors."² Cæsar Frederick,³ and Vincent Le Blanc,⁴ who were in Bengal about 1570, also inform us that the island of Sondip was then inhabited by Moors. In the sixteenth century, therefore, Chittagong was a centre from which an unceasing propagandism was carried on.

¹ The people of Chittagong, however, ascribe their conversion to an invasion of their country by Nuqrát Sháh in the sixteenth century.—"J. A. S. of Calcutta," No. 4, 1872, p. 338.

² A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar, Hackluyt Society, 1866.

³ "Hackluyt's Navigations," ii, 213-241.

⁴ "Les Voyages fameux du Sieur Vincent Le Blanc," p. 273.

Wherever Muhammadan rule existed, slavery was developed, and during the centuries of misrule and oppression, through which Bengal passed, slavery was accepted by the Hindus as a refuge for their troubles. Bengal has for its encouragement of slavery always possessed an unenviable notoriety, and the Delhi Court obtained not only its slaves, but also its eunuchs, from the villages of Eastern Bengal. The incursions of Assamese, and Mags, the famines, pestilences, and civil wars impoverished and hardened the people, and drove them in sheer desperation to sell their children as Mussulmán slaves. The treatment of these slaves was humane, and their position comparatively a good one, as they were allowed to marry, and their families, supported by the master, added to the number of Islám.

Stories of forcible conversion, such as the following, are however narrated by the Muhammadans themselves, without any feelings of shame, or astonishment. While the Muhammadan population was still scattered, it was customary for each householder to hang an earthen water-pot (*badhná*) from his thatched roof, as a sign of his religious belief. One day a Maulaví, after some years' absence, went to visit a disciple, who lived in the centre of a Hindu village, but could not find the "*badhná*." On inquiry he was told that the Mussulmán villager had renounced his faith, and joined an outcast tribe. On his return to the city, the circumstances being reported to the Nawáb, a detachment of troops was ordered out, the village surrounded, and every person in it compelled to become Muhammadan.

Another class of Hindus voluntarily turned Muhammadans, as the only means of escaping punishment for murder, or adultery, as this step was considered full atonement for either crime.¹

In later times this compulsory system was still farther extended. The tyrannical Murshíd Julí Khán enforced a law that any Amal, or Zamíndár, failing to pay the revenue that was due, or being unable to make good the loss, should with his wife and children be compelled to become Muhammadans.² Furthermore, it was the common law that any Hindu forfeiting his caste by a breach of regulations could only be reinstated by the Muhammadan Government, and, if it refused to interfere, the delinquent remained an outcast, ultimately taking shelter in the ranks of the Faithful. The same right was at first claimed by the English Government; but in 1769 it was abandoned, "there being no longer the necessity of publicly asserting the subordination of Hindus to Muhammadans."³

1 "Bernier," vol. i, 144. "*Voyages de Le Goowz*," p. 157.

2 Gladwin's Narrative, quoted in "*Harington's Analysis*," iii, 274.

3 Proceedings of Fort William Select Committee, dated August 16th, 1769.

As late as 1791, Dr. Robertson maintained that the Muhammadans of India were "the descendants of adventurers, who have been pouring in from Tartary, Persia, and Arabia ever since the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazni, A.D. 1002."¹

When English magistrates first came in contact with the people of Bengal, they arrived at the conclusion that the Muhammadans only comprised one per cent. of the population,² and this estimate, formed on very insufficient ground, was generally assumed to be approximately correct.

In 1830 the first census of the city of Dacca was taken by Mr. H. Walters, who estimated the native population at 66,667, of whom 35,238 were Muhammadans, 31,429 Hindus.³ Even as late as 1839, Mr. Taylor asserts⁴ that the population of the district consists of Hindus and Muhammadans in nearly equal proportions; but in the city the latter constitute the principal portion of the inhabitants, their numbers, in 1838, exceeding that of the Hindus to the extent of 4,309, in a population of 60,617. The Revenue Survey, again,⁵ as the result of their inquiries, arrived at the conclusion that the population of the Dacca district, between 1857 and 1860, consisted of—

Hindus	455,182
Muhammadans	449,223
Christians	210
Total	<hr/> 904,615 <hr/>

These estimates, often wonderfully correct, indicate the general conviction, up to the taking of the census of the whole of Bengal in 1872, when it was discovered for the first time that, in Lower Bengal alone, there were 17,608,730 Muhammadans, of whom 7,948,152, or 45 per cent., resided in the nine Eastern districts, while the total number of Hindus in the same province was 18,100,438. The Muhammadan element was, moreover, found to be strongest in Báqirganj (1,540,965), Mymensingh (1,519,635), Dacca (1,050,131), and Tipperah (993,564).

In the Dacca district, the Hindus only numbered 793,789, or 43·3 per cent. of the whole population; while in the city of Dacca the population was 34,433 Hindus, to 34,275 Muhammadans.

¹ An historical disquisition concerning Ancient India in Robertson's Works, ii, 346.

² "Alexander Hamilton," ii, 25. "Luke Sraffton," in "Asiatic Annual Register," ii, 20. Governor Verelst, however, asserts "that eight out of ten were Gentoos."

³ "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvii, 536.

⁴ "Topography of Dacca," p. 243.

⁵ "Principal heads of the History and Statistics of the Dacca Division," Calcutta, 1868.

These figures all point to the conclusion that it is to a change of religion, and not to the immigration of any Muhammadan race, that the existing predominance of the Mussulmán element in Eastern Bengal is due. While the proportion of Muhammadans in Hindustan and Bihár is comparatively low, it has in Bengal gone on increasing, until it has reached its present surprising height, and there is no present appearance of its diminishing.

The reasons which forced many Hindus to turn renegades, during the Muhammadan rule, have been specified; but as most of these influences have disappeared under English law we must look to other motives, still prompting the Hindu to change his belief. The most potent influence undoubtedly at the present day is the attraction of Islám itself. Bengal was never properly an Aryan country, and the Aryans who did reside within its borders always held an uncertain footing among the aboriginal tribes, driven down the Gangetic valley by the conquering races of Hindustan. The Hindu priesthood was therefore forced to adopt the deities of its neighbours, and to blend the more elevated religion of the Vedas with the barbarous rites of the indigenes. Nowhere was Hinduism so debased, and so corrupt, and nowhere have the masses who held aloof been treated with greater contumely and inhumanity.

When the Muhammadan armies poured into Bengal, it is hard to believe that they were not welcomed by the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and that many a despairing Chandál and Kaibartta joyfully embraced a religion that proclaimed the equality of all men, and which was the religion of the race, keeping in subjection their former oppressors. Hinduism had prohibited the outcast from residing in the same village as the twice-born Bráhmaṇ, had forced him to perform the most menial and repulsive occupations, and had virtually treated him as an animal undeserving of any pity; but Islám announced that the poor, as well as the rich, the slave and his master, the peasant and the prince were of equal value in the eyes of God. Above all, the Bráhmaṇ held out no hopes of a future world to the most virtuous helot, while the Mulla not only proffered assurances of felicity in this world, but of an indefeasible inheritance in the next.

Such appear to be the main reasons for concluding that the Bengal Muhammadan of the present day is a converted Hindu, and not a scion of any Mughal or Pathán stock; but farther, if we examine a crowd of Bengali villagers at the present day, one, and only one, type of features, of complexion and of physique pervades them all, and it is impossible for the most practised observer, setting aside the different styles of dress, the beards, and the hair, to distinguish between a Muhammadan and a

Hindu peasant. A careful examination of fifty Muhammadans and fifty Hindus, selected indiscriminately from convicts of the Dacca jail, gives the following averages :—

		Muhammadans.		Hindus.
Average age	...	33½ years	...	32½ years.
Height	...	5 feet 3½ inches	...	5 feet 4 inches.
Weight	...	7 stone 10 lbs.	...	7 stone 10 lbs.
Girth of chest	...	31 inches	...	32 inches.

Although the Muhammadan religion has spread and is still spreading, among the low Hindu castes of Eastern Bengal, it is not to be inferred that the Muhammadans are an united body, as is generally assumed, without any divisions, or internal dissensions. It would, for instance, be impossible for the Arab to connect the corrupt Hinduised rites he witnesses in Bengal with those celebrated at Mecca, or to discern in the veneration of Pirs any relation to the orthodox faith.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the only great divisions of the Indian Mussulmáns were the Sunní and Shíah, the former predominating, sustained by the royal families of Delhí, Haiderábád, Tonk, and Bhopál, the latter upheld by the dynasties of Golcondah, Lucknow, Murshídábád, and the Nawábs of Dacca.

The Shíah supremacy, lost during the anarchy of the eighteenth century, has never been regained; but the Sunní has gone on increasing, not as one harmonious whole, but by separation into rival, though mutually tolerant, sects. At the present day four sects, differing in many important particulars, especially in their sentiments regarding Christianity, disunite the Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal.

These sects are the following :—

1. Sábíqí, who may be called the conservatives of the debased Hinduised religion peculiar to the lower orders of Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal. The majority of the landholders, and, with few exceptions, the descendants of the old Sunní families, belong to it.
2. Farazí, or those following the Fraz, or divine command. Shari'attullah and his son Dudhu Miyán founded this, the most uncompromising sect of Sunnís, who, differing though little from the Wahábbí, repudiate that name and refuse to pray standing behind a person belonging to the first or third sect, or even to eat and drink with them.
3. Ta'aiyuní—from the Arabic Ta'aiyun, establishing, or manifesting; or Ráhí, from the Persian for a traveller—are the followers of Maulavi Karámat 'Alí and the Patna school, comprising the vast majority of the Dacca cultivators, thatchers, and hide merchants.

4. Rafi'-yadain, so called from their elevating their hands to the ears, each time that the words Alláh Akbar are pronounced in the course of prayer, while all the other sects only do so at the beginning of the invocation. They also fold their arms across the chest when praying instead of over the navel; and at the end of each supplication call out in a loud tone of voice *Ámín*, or *Amen*. They are the real Wahábbis of Eastern Bengal, and are said to be already more numerous than the *Sábiqí*. Many of the most enterprising and prosperous traders belong to this puritanical body.

The first, or *Sábiqí*, sect is in some respects the most interesting. It is the oldest, the most corrupt, and, until late years, it represented the dominant state religion. By a study of its heresies and superstitions we acquire a truer estimate of the paralysis that penetrated throughout the Muhammadan faith in Bengal, when the revival of the present day first dawned upon the people.

In no other country have the Muhammadans embodied so many infidel rites and customs with their own creed as in India, and M. Garcin de Tassy, in his interesting Memoir,¹ refers this to the too great simplicity of Islám for a country where an idolatrous and allegorical religion, appealing to the senses and imagination more than to the mind and heart, was prevalent. But, perhaps, the causes that corrupted the Hindu religion, namely, contact with alien and despised races, each having a peculiar cultus of its own, isolation from the cradle and centre of its authority, and the paucity of numbers as compared with the millions of unbelievers around them, also tended in the case of the Muhammadans to produce greater liberality of feeling and more sympathy for the sentiments and religious observances of the aboriginal races. The local gods, the gods whom men sought after in times of trouble and sickness, were too near and dear to the inmost heart of the Hindu convert to be abolished without substitutes. It was much easier to give them an anthropomorphous form and to replace them by saints endowed with equal powers and with spirits of as easy access to the worshippers.

Whether one, or all of these causes combined, created the tolerant spirit, there is no doubt that with a few glaring exceptions, the Muhammadan rulers of India have been, during the last three hundred years, on the whole remarkable for their freedom from bigotry, and for their forbearance to the other religions of the peninsula. Sikandar Lodí (1488-1516), the last persecutor of the Hindus, destroyed the holy shrines of Mathurá, and strictly prohibited the Hindus from shaving their heads or beards; from performing their regular ablutions, and

¹ "Memoire sur les Particularités de la Religion Musulmane dans l'Inde," p. 9.

from worshipping Sítalá, the goddess of small-pox.¹ It is to the enlightened Akbar that the tolerant policy of the Mughal dynasty is to be referred. He paid adoration in public to the sun and to fire in 1580; and on the full moon of Srávan employed Brahmans to fasten the "rakhi" on his wrists.² He, and his courtiers, married Hindu wives, and the name of Muhammad, though one of his own, was repudiated by the emperor.

His son, Jahángír, was a still more indifferent Muhammadan. During his reign the Díwalí Pújah was kept, and cows were paraded in the royal gardens, while on the Sívarátrí, Jogis were invited to the palace, and the emperor ate with them. Moreover, in the eighth year of his reign, he celebrated his father's Sráddha in the mausoleum at Sikandrah, and the Muhammadan festivals, with the exception of the Shab-i-barát, being no longer observed, Parsí feasts were held instead, and seven out of eight of Akbar's grandsons received Parsí names.³

Dará Shikoh, the eldest son of Sháh Jahán, was upbraided by his brother Aurangzib for not having even the resemblance of a Mussulmán, and for composing a work, called Majmá-ul-bahrain, or the meeting of the two seas, having for its object the union of the Hindu and Muhammadan religious systems.

It is a well known fact that most Indian Muhammadans depreciate the founder of their religion, and exalt the two martyred sons of 'Alí above him, and his immediate successors in the Khálifate.

The annual Muhammadan fast, again, is properly a Shíáh ceremony, its observance and the preparation of Tázias, or models of the tombs of the two martyrs, Hasan and Husain, being prohibited by Sunní doctors. In reality there are only two great festivals enjoined by the Koran, namely, the Íd-ul-fitr at the end of the month of Ramazán, and the Íd-ul-Qurbán, or Baqr-id, as it is popularly called, on the tenth of Zihíffá, the last month of the year.

The preparation of Tázias, until late years, was carried on in every Muhammadan village, and each strove to make a more gaudy model than its neighbour. Hindu Zamíndárs subscribed towards its expense as the Muhammadan landlords did to the Durgá image, and, as M. de Tassy points out, many peculiarities of the one festival resemble those of the other. Both last ten days, and on the 'Ashúra, or Manzil-ka-din, of the Muharram, and on the Vijayá-dasamí of the Durgá Pújah, the biers, and the images of Durgá, are thrown into a river, or tank. In some respects, however, the procession of Tázias also resembles the Rath

¹ Elliott's "History of India," vol. iv, 447, 448.

² "Aín-i-Akbari" (Blochmann's Translation), i, 184.

³ "Calcutta Review," October 1869.

Játrá of the Hindus, and at both the greatest merit is attributed to the persons dragging the car. In Dacca there is a peculiar similarity between the two. In former days one Níl Bahr built a cenotaph in honour of Bibí Fátimah, and for many generations a paper Tázia, called Turbat Haidarí, has been deposited in it during the Muharram. On the night of the tenth day the oldest and most venerable man sleeps in the building. A Parí reveals to him the exact hour that the Tázia should be removed, and as that hour approaches it is placed on a platform, or gaddí Níl Bahr, and crowds of Muhammadans assemble and struggle for the honourable post of carrier. When it has once started it must not be put down until the tank, where it is finally cast away, distant four miles, is reached. During the year the lower orders are in the habit of vowing that if their wishes are fulfilled, they will assist in carrying the Turbat; and at the Rauza, or cenotaph, crowds resort on the 'Ashúra day with offerings of pigeons, sweetmeats, and solah chaplets (sihrá).

Another peculiarity of the Indian Muharram is that two biers are represented, while in Persia only one, that of Husain, was formerly carried in procession. Again, Bengali Muhammadans believe that the two sons of 'Alí became martyrs on the same day, and that the great fast is held in honour of them both, although they actually died in different months at an interval of ten years.¹

In India the Bárah-wafát, or anniversary of the death of Muhammad, is observed by the Sunnis, on the twelfth of Rabi'ul-awal; while in Turkey, Egypt, and formerly at Akbar's Court,² that day is celebrated as the anniversary of the "Maulid," or birth of the Prophet.³

In some parts of India, especially in the neighbourhood of *Muhammadan cities*, there is a mosque, known as the Qadam Rasúl, where a foot-print of the Prophet is carefully preserved. On the banks of the Lakhya, a few miles east of Dacca, is a very celebrated place of pilgrimage, built on a lofty mound, apparently the site of an old fort. At this mosque is kept a large slab of dark slate, fashioned into the shape of a foot-print, which is exhibited to any pilgrim on the payment of a fee to the custodian. In the same way as the Gayáwál Bráhman earns a livelihood by showing the Vishnupad, the Mutawallí gains his by imposing upon the credulous and ignorant villager. Veneration is paid to hairs, gravely stated to have once belonged to the Prophet's beard, or moustache; and on the capture of Delhi, in 1857

¹ Hasan was poisoned at Madínah, 28th Cafar, A. H. 50 (670); Husain was killed at Karbaláh, 10th Muharram, A. H. 61 (680).

² Elliott's "History of India," v. 412.

³ Muhammadans agree that Muhammad was born and died on the same day of the month.—"Calcutta Review," xxii, 366.

not the least valuable articles of prize were a few hairs which had been preserved as relics in the Jamá Masjid of that city.

What, however, chiefly distinguishes the Indian Muhammadan from his brethren of other lands is his servile veneration for Pírs, or holy men. The diptych of Indian saints is very voluminous, and each province of India, nay, every district and city, has its own patron saint. In Eastern Bengal they amount to a considerable number, the most famous being the following:—

Sháh Jalál Mujarrád Yamaní of Silhet. ¹	
Páñch Pír	
Munná Sháh Darwísh	} of Sunnárgaon. ²
Khúndkár Muhammad Yúsuf	
Sháh 'Alí Bághdádí of Mírpúr.	
Pír Badr Auliyá of Chittagong.	
Sháh Jalál Dakhiní of Dacca.	
Ádam Shahíd of Bikrampúr.	

The dargáhs, or shrines, of these holy men are annually visited by hundreds of pilgrims, both Muhammadans and Hindus, who often undergo as much exposure and fatigue in reaching them as the strict Hindus on their pilgrimages to the sacred places of Jagannáth, or Brindában.

The "Qanoon-i-Islám"³ gives a list of the Muhammadan saints of India, but only one belongs to Bengal. The names and lives of four others are recorded in Mr. Blochmann's invaluable "Contributions."⁴ The celebrity, however, of those of Bengal pales before that of Faríd Shakarganj, Qutbuddín, and Nizámuddín of Delhi, the three most famous saints of Hindustan.

The veneration paid by the Indian Mussulmán to his Pír, equals, if it does not exceed, that paid by the Hindu to his Guru or Gosain. The former implicitly believes in his miraculous powers; in his ability to cure diseases, to make the sterile woman conceive, and, as in the case of Sháh Karím 'Alí, of Jagannáthpúr, in Tipperah, to raise from the dead, and to cause rain to fall when and where he pleases. Muhammadans, even the most intelligent, accept such stories without hesitation. According to them there is no antecedent improbability in a human being exercising powers which are generally considered to belong to God alone. There are three kinds of Pírs recognised: the Pír taríqát, the Pír haqíqát, and the Pír ma'rifát, who fulfil certain mystical duties towards the

¹ "J. A. S. of Bengal," part i, No. 3, 1873.

² "J. A. S. of Bengal," part i, No. 1, 1874.

³ Pages 432-6.

⁴ "J. A. S. of Bengal," part i, No. 3, 1873.

individual; but the term has also a wider signification, being often applied to a departed spirit, and even to any old and venerable person. A Pír, likewise, may be ancestral (Jaddi), or inherited (Khalafí).

In India it is customary for a disciple on approaching his Pír to make the obeisance Sijdah, touching the ground with the forehead, or the still more obsequious, Taslím, or Kornish, actions censured as most culpable by the Arabs and foreign Muhammadans generally.

From the earliest ages of Muhammad, retirement from the world, self-abstraction, and contemplation, were habitually followed in the certain belief that thereby complete authority over the powers of Nature would be attained. Hindu philosophy had much to say to the creation of Muhammadan hermits; but it is probable also, that the example of the Ráhib, or Christian anchorites, who retired into the desert before the army of Khálid bin Walíd, prompted men to follow in their footsteps.

Not satisfied, however, with these innovations, the Indian Muhammadans have superadded the worship of certain mythical personages around whom have collected various traditions and romances. The following list includes the most important, as well as most popular, of these immortals.

1. *Khwájah Khizr.*

Who this person was, is still a subject of dispute among Muhammadans. The eighteenth chapter of the Koran describes the expedition of Moses and Joshua in search of Al Khedr, called Zúlqarnain, a title by which Alexander the Great is known all over the East; hence it is inferred that Khwájah Khizr is no other than Alexander. Most commentators, however, identify him with Elias, or Elijah, who, having drunk of the water of life (*áb-i-hayát*), never tasted of death, and Mr. Deutsch informs us¹ that in the Talmud, Elijah appears as a kind of immortal tutelary genius, who goes about in the garb of an Arab. Others affirm that he was the companion, counsellor, and commander-in-chief of the armies of Zúlqarnain, or Kaikobad; but in Asia Minor Khizr Elias is a name of St. George of Cappadocia.²

Whoever he was, Kwájah Khizr is believed at the present day to

¹ "Quarterly Review." October, 1869.

² The legends about Khizr are not unknown to Western literature. To them we owe the beautiful poem of "The Hermit," by Parnell, and the tale of "L'Ermite" in Voltaire's "Zadig." It is supposed that the story of Khizr in the Koran was brought to Europe by the Crusaders, was embalmed in the folk-lore of the West, until quickened by the pen of genius, and graced with the charms of an apologue, or moral tale.

reside in the seas and rivers of India, protecting mariners from shipwreck, and to be only visible to those who accomplish a forty days' watch on the banks of a river.¹ Muhammadans of all ranks make vows to him in seasons of sickness, or trouble, and present offerings in acknowledgment of any blessing, such as the birth of a son, attributed to his intercession.

The festival of the Berá, or raft, is properly observed on the last Thursday of the Muhammadan year; but in Bengal it is held on the last Thursday of the Hindu month Bhádon (Aug.-Sept.), which corresponds with the breaking up of the rains. The festival is kept by Hindus, especially by boatmen and fishermen, as well as by Muhammadans. The Berá, usually made of paper, ornamented with tinsel, has a prow resembling a female face, with the crest and breast of a peacock, in imitation of the figure-head on the bow of the '*Mor-pankhi*' pleasure-boat. The effigy placed on a raft of plantain stems is set afloat at sunset, and with its flickering lights gives a picturesque aspect to the dark and flooded stream. At Murshídábád, where the festival was first kept by Siráj-ud-daulah,² the Bagarathí is illuminated by hundreds of rafts floating with the stream, while the banks are crowded by the inhabitants.³ It is the custom for the person launching a Berá, to deposit on the bank a few slices of ginger, a little rice, and two or three plantains, which are usually snatched up by some wretched beggar.

Whether or no the modern idea of peopling the waters with deathless spirits was derived from the ancient Persians, or Hindus, it harmonized so well with the prepossessions of the Muhammadans as to be adopted without hesitation as a religious conception. It is, however, impossible with our present knowledge to explain why Khwájah Khizr, who is not regarded by other Oriental people as the guardian spirit of the waters, should have been selected as such in the Gangetic Valley, more especially as in various parts of the Muhammadan world other fabulous persons are adopted by sea-faring races. 'Abdul-Qádir Gilání and Abú-Zulaimah⁴ control portions of the Eastern Seas, while a female spirit, Máma Salmá, presides over the ocean beating against the cliffs of Rás Mosandim, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf; and Indian mariners sailing past propitiate her by offerings of cocoanuts, fruits, and flowers.⁵

¹ The person who is favoured in this way usually adopts the trade of a water-carrier (bihistí).

² "*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*," translated by Hájj Muçtafa, ii, 533.

³ A picture of this scene is given in Hodge's "*Travels in India during the years 1780-83*." (London, 1793.)

⁴ "*Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*," i, 194.

⁵ "*A Journey through Persia*," by James Morier, p. 86.

On the Coromandel coast, again, Qádir Walí Qáhib is the patron saint of sailors,¹ as Shaikh 'Alí Haidarí was at Cambay in the fourteenth century,² and Abu Ishaq al Kázrúní at Shiráz.

2. *Zindah Ghází.*

It is difficult to determine whether or not Zindah Ghází, Ghází Miyán, and the Sat Pír, are the same or different individuals, but there is a striking similarity in the fables appertaining to each. The woodcutters in all parts of the Sunderbuns invoke certain mythical beings to protect them from tigers and crocodiles. In the twenty-four Pergunnahs it is Mubarrá Ghází; in the eastern parts of the Delta it is Zindah Ghází, the immortal warrior; while by Hindu workmen it is Kálú-ráya, or Sív, riding on a tiger, holding in his right hand an arrow, in his left a bow.³ Mubarrá Ghází is said to have been a faqír, who reclaimed the jungly tracts along the left bank of the river Huglí, and each village has an altar dedicated to him. No one will enter the forest, and no crew will sail through the district, without first of all making offerings at one of the shrines. The faqírs residing in these pestilential forests, claiming to be lineally descended from the Ghází, indicate with pieces of wood, called *Sang*, the exact limits within which the forest is to be cut.⁴

Zindah Ghází, according to the legend, came to Bengal when Rájah Matak ruled over the Sunderbuns. He had a dispute with the monarch, who, convinced of being in the right, vowed to give his only daughter Shushila in marriage to him on its being shown that his, the Rájah's, opinion was wrong. This the Ghází did, and won his bride. As no man saw him die, he is believed to reside in the depths of the forest, to ride about on tigers, and to keep them so subservient to his will that they dare not touch a human being without his express commands. Before entering a jungle, or punting through the narrow channels, whose shady banks are infested by tigers, boatmen and woodcutters, both Hindus and Muhammadans, raise little mounds of earth and make offerings on them of rice, plantains and sweetmeats to Zindah Ghází, after which they fearlessly cut brushwood and linger in the most dangerous spots.

In Dacca there is a popular band of musicians known as Zindah Sháh Ghází ká gáyan, who recite songs in honour of the Ghází, and from whom the above particulars were obtained.

1 "Qanoon-i-Islám," p. 243.

2 "Travels of Ibn Batuta" (Lee), p. 146, 43.

3 Ward's "Hindus," iii, 186.

4 "Statistical and Geographical Report of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs District," by Major R. Smyth, 1857. *Sang* is the Sanskrit for union, and the pegs of wood, signify identity with the Ghází.

This strange myth, there cannot be any doubt, is merely the Hindu Kálú rāya, converted into a Muhammadan immortal to suit the taste of the superstitious boatmen.

3. *Pír Badr.*

Besides Kwájah Khizr, Bengal supplies other animistic ideas regarding water, and Pír Badr shares with him the dominion of the rivers. This spirit is invoked by every sailor and fisherman, when starting on a cruise, or when overtaken by a squall or storm. All Muhammadans agree that he resided at Chittagong, but his history does not disclose the reason why the attributes of a water-demon were conferred on him. According to one account he was a shipwrecked Portuguese sailor, named "Pas Gual Peeris Botheilo," who reached the shore by clinging to a piece of wreck. The guardians of his shrine, however, say that about a hundred and fifty years ago, Pír Badr arrived at Chittagong "floating on a rock," and informed the terror-stricken inhabitants that he had come all the way from Akyab on this novel craft! The neighbourhood of Chittagong being then infested by Jins, or evil spirits, he exterminated them, and took possession of the whole country. The modern Dargáh, or cenotaph, of Pír Badr stands in the centre of Chittagong, and is regarded as the palladium of the city. Faqírs are the custodians, and the mosque with its rooms for pilgrims is kept scrupulously clean. On the walls of the cenotaph are ten niches for ten oil-lamps, which are lighted every evening and burn all night. Pilgrims from all parts of Bengal visit the Dargáh in fulfilment of vows, or to obtain the favour and intercession of the saint, while Hindu fishermen regard him with as much awe as the Muhammadans. His 'Urs, or festival, is celebrated annually on the twenty-ninth of Ramazán, the anniversary of his death. There can, however, be little doubt that Pír Badr is no other than Badr-uddín Badr-i-'Alam, for many years a resident of Chittagong, who died A. H. 844 (1440), and was buried in the Chhotá Dargáh of Bihár, but about whom we possess no further particulars.¹

4. *Ghází Miyyán.*

This much more celebrated personage is worshipped by both Hindus and Muhammadans, and his Shádí, or wedding, is a very popular entertainment throughout Hindustan. In the north-western parts of India he is identified with Sálár Mas'úd, the nephew of Mahmúd of Ghazní, who was born at Ajmír A. H. 405 (1014), and after performing prodigies of valour in battle against the infidels, and capturing Delhi and Ayodhya, settled at Bahráich in Oudh. Here he was attacked by the Hindus

¹ "J. A. S. of Bengal," Part i, No. 3, p. 302 (1893).

under Rái Sahar Deo and Har Deo, and in the battle that ensued he was killed and his army cut to pieces. This occurred on the fourteenth Rajab, A. H. 424 (1033).¹ Around this warrior's name strange and incredible stories have accumulated. It is believed in Oudh that the bones of the hero were only discovered in the fourteenth century, and that whilst being exhumed many miraculous events occurred;² but a native historian informs us³ that Sikandar Lodí, in the fifteenth century, abolished throughout his dominions the annual procession of the spear of Sálár Mas'úd because of its being contrary to orthodox belief. No legislation, however, could stop such a popular holiday as this has always been.

It is perhaps impossible to explain the meaning of the absurd frolics indulged in throughout India by all classes when celebrating the Shádí of Ghází Miyán. Mr. Wilson⁴ identified the Jhandí, or flag, of Shád Madár with the spear of Ghází Miyán, and regards the Persian word "Shádí," used by the vulgar, as a corruption of the Arabic "Sháhídí," or testimony; hence martyrdom, or the death of a Muhammadan in a war with infidels.

In corroboration of this conclusion it is remarkable that at Gasyárá, in the Banda district, a fair is annually held in the month of Baisákh in honour of Ghází Miyán, at which Daffálí faqírs wrap coloured rags and horse-hair at the end of a long bamboo, round which they sing and often burn incense.⁵

In some parts of India the Ghází is spoken of as the son of a famous General serving the King of Delhi, who adopted the garb of a faqír retired from the world, and shortly afterwards died, on which the son, Madár, joined the troops of a Pathán leader, and distinguished himself by his bravery and hatred of the Hindus. Hence his name has come to be regarded as the symbol of daring courage, and at the present day is used as a battle-cry by Hindustani troopers. While his nuptial ceremonies were being celebrated the enemy appeared, and in an attempt to drive them back he was slain. His death and the removal of the nuptial banners and emblems are supposed to be represented at the popular festival, but Mr. Wilson also sees a resemblance to the marriage ceremonies of the Súdras.

At Bahráich, on the first Sunday of Jeth (May-June), a great fair

1 Elliott's "History of India," vol. ii, App. 513-49; and "Supplemental Glossary," i, 251.

2 "Asiatic Annual Register," vi (1804).

3 "History of India," iv, 448.

4 "Asiatic Journal," iv, 75.

5 "Statistical and Descriptive Account of the North-west Provinces of India," i, 118. (Allahabad, 1874).

is held at the tomb of Sálár Mas'úd, when crowds of pilgrins present votive offerings at the shrine. At Munír, near the junction of the Sôn and Ganges, the anniversary of the death of Ghází Miyán is celebrated. The history of this fair is interesting, as showing how legends pass from one holy man to another.

Van Graaf,¹ sailing up the Ganges in 1669, stopped at "Monera." The inhabitants were poor cultivators, and the country was formerly a desert until a very holy man, "Hia Monera,"² struck by the aspect of the place, fixed his abode there, exterminating the wild beasts, and erecting a small chapel where he performed many miracles. At his death he left much money, with which "his valet" built a mosque and a tank, resorted to by faqírs who pretended to work miracles. The mosque still stands, but the faqírs, finding the worship of Ghází Miyán more profitable, have established a fair in his honour instead.

The festival of Ghází Miyán is not popular in Eastern Bengal, but few villages are without a shrine dedicated to Ghází Çáhib. This spot is usually a diminutive Dargáh, with a raised mound of earth in the interior, before which every Muhammadan and Hindu makes obeisance as he passes; and whenever sickness attacks his family, or when the Çáhib's intercession is solicited, the villager makes votive offerings of flowers, milk, and sweetmeats. Along the banks of the Lakhya, on the outskirts of villages, a mound of earth, smeared with cow-dung, stands beneath a grass thatch. This mound has generally two knobs on the top, said to represent the tombs of Ghází Miyán and his younger brother Kálú. On the twenty-second day after a cow has calved the first milk drawn is poured over the mound as a libation, and in times of sickness, rice, plantains, and sweetmeats are offered.

5. *Páñch Pír.*

According to Shakespeare and Forbes, Páñch Píriyá is a term applied to any person who worship the five Pírs of the Mussulmáns; or belongs to a caste of Halál Khors. But, who are the Pírs of the Mussulmáns? No Muhammadan Maulavi in Eastern Bengal can name them, or give any explanation why they are so called. The Páñch Pírs are familiar to every one, being invoked whenever danger threatens; but among Bengali Muhammadans there is no special ceremony, and no festival kept in their honour. Every Muhammadan boatman on unfurling his sail shouts, either—

"Alláh, Nabí, Páñch Pír, Badr, rakhiyá karo!"

¹ "Voyages de Nikolaas Van Graaf aux Indes Orientales." (Amsterdam, 1719).

² This was Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahyá Munírí, a famous Qúfí, who wrote the "Maktúbát Yahyá Munírí," in a series of 250 letters to his disciples. He died about A. D. 1370.

or the following doggerel verses :—

Hamáre achhe pulabán
 Gházi achhe nigahbáu
 Sar Ganga, Páñch Pír, Badr! Badr! Badr!

The great Akbar was denounced, Mr. Blochmann informs me, by some hostile critic for being a Páñch Píriyá, and no Muhammadan, on account of his eclecticism and toleration.

Again, in his paper¹ on the ballads and legends of the Punjáb, Major Abbott translates a poem in which the appearance of the Páñch Pír to the legendary hero of the Punjáb (Rasálu) is mentioned, and in a note these five are said to be,

Bahá-ul-haq,
 Sháh Rukn 'Álam,
 Sháh Shamsuddín,
 Makhdúm Jahániyán,
 Faríduddín 'Attár Shakarganj.

The first three are saints peculiar to Multan; the fourth died A. H. 785 (1383), and his tomb is at Uch Sharíf,² while the fifth, the most famous, died A.D. 1266, and over his remains a tomb was erected by Nizámuddín of Delhi, which still stands, at Pak Patan, between the Bias and Chenab, and is a favourite place of pilgrimage on the fifth of the Muharram.³ But, as Mr. Blochmann points out, these are merely the names of the five most celebrated Muhammadan saints of the Punjáb, and the list affords us no insight into the meaning of the term Páñch Pír as used at the present day.

Sir H. Elliot⁴ mentions that Gházi Miyán and his bhánjá, or sister's son, Hathili, are regarded by the peasantry of the Doáb, as two of the Páñch Pír, but the names of the remaining three are not given.

In Bengal again, no individuals are mentioned, and the Páñch Pír are collectively invoked as guardian spirits in times of trouble. Amid the forest that has overgrown the old city of Sunnárgáon, is a very holy shrine, called the Páñch Pír, where five unfinished tombs stand, to which Hindus and Muhammadans come from long distances in fulfilment of vows; but no one can tell who the saints were, or whence they came.

It must be borne in mind that the number five has always been regarded by Hindus as a lucky one. Five Members form the Pancháít, or native court of arbitration, and the Panchamí, or fifth lunar day,

¹ "J. A. S. of Bengal," vol. xxiii, 159.

² "Travels of Mohan Láíl," p. 454. "J. A. S. of Bengal," v. 796.

³ "Mohan Láíl," p. 376.

⁴ "Supplemental Glossary" i, 251-70.

is one of peculiarly good omen. Some such idea may be the origin of this peculiar worship, and the term five may be merely used to signify an indefinite number, as half-a-dozen does in England.

As has been mentioned, Muhammadans invoke the Páñch Pír, but still more strange, Hindus follow their example. All Hindustani Kumhárs and many Nápits, Kándús, Dhobís and Goálás belong to the sect called Páñch Píriyá, which has two subdivisions, or Srení, that neither eat together nor intermarry. The one eats flesh that has been legalised according to Muhammadan (*zabk*), or Hindu (*balí*), law, drinks spirits and follows the Śákta ritual on Hindu, the Páñch Píriyá on Muhammadan festivals. The other, the more modern, are followers of Vishnu, eating no animal food, touching no spirits, and never making pilgrimages to Muhammadan Dargáhs, as the first do.

In Bihár the Páñch Píriyá belonging to the low castes engage a Daffáli faqír to officiate at their religious ceremonies, which consist in the sacrifice of a cock, and the repetition of several prayers. When a disciple is initiated a cock is always sacrificed, and the Neophyte must bake bannocks of wheaten flour and distribute them among the company to avert the wrath of the Páñch Pír.

In other respects the worshippers of these saints are Hindus, their Purohit being often a Kanaujiya Bráhmaṇ, while the Guru is always the Mahant of the Nának Sháhí Akhárá. This connection with the Nának Sháhí sect seems to indicate the origin of the Páñch Píriyá. Nának Sháh taught universal toleration, and insisted that not only were the essential doctrines of Hinduism and Muhammadanism analogous, but that one Supreme Being, adored as either Harí, or Alláh, was sought after by the devout of both creeds. It was natural that in such a tolerant sect eclectic teachers should spring up, selecting from the ritual of each religion whatever was likely to recommend itself to the vacillation of either party. If this be the true origin of the Páñch Píriyá belief, or not, it is beyond a doubt that very many of the lower and least stable classes of native society profess it, although it has failed to make any impression on the higher ranks whose position is secured, and whose spiritual welfare is confided to the Bráhmans.

A well-known resident of Eastern Bengal is popularly called the Páñch Píriyá Čáhib, it being said that his parents, losing one child after another, were advised by a favourite servant to consecrate the next to the Páñch Pír, and by so doing preserve him. They followed this advice and were gratified to find their son grow up strong and healthy. Hindus always quote this as an instance of the benefits accruing to those who believe in the Páñch Pír.

6. *Shaikh Sadu*

The worship of Shaikh Sadu, or Míran Jí, is peculiar to India, and, in Bengal, is almost exclusively confined to Muhammadan courtézans.

At Amrohah, a celebrated Sayyid Jagir in Rohilcund, there is a mosque, said to have been built by one 'Ambar in the reign of Kai Kobád, and restored by Sayyid Muhammad, Mir 'Adl, in the sixteenth century. In the thirteenth century Shaikh Çadruddín, whose name has been shortened to Sadu, was Maulaví of this mosque, and famous for the amulets and chains (*gandá*) he bestowed. To this shrine crowds of Hindu and Muhammadan pilgrims resort every Thursday, in the certain belief that by presenting gifts to the custodians, and by hanging on to a chain, the "*Chain of Desire*," all the dearest wishes of their hearts will be attained. Adjoining the shrine are the tombs of his mother 'Aishab, and of a familiar, Zain Khán.

The following story explains the reason why Shaikh Sadu is worshipped by the impure and dissolute native. While ploughing one day this saintly personage turned up a lamp, designed by a great magician, which as soon as it was lighted caused four genii to appear. The Shaikh, a very immoral man, employed these genii as pimps, but having debauched a girl, they put him to death. After death he became a jin, but he still revisits this world and reveals to men, more often to women, a knowledge of futurity, conferring also certain supernatural powers.

Other spirits exercising similar powers are regarded by the superstitious classes as of inferior rank, hence the Hindustani proverb, "Ae Mír, bhage Pír."

The behaviour of a person inspired by Míran Jí resembles the 'possession' counterfeited by the low caste Hindu, or the Shaman. Intimating beforehand that at a certain time he will become inspired, and that "Shaikh Sadu Ka Karáhi"¹ will be observed, musicians are engaged, and a crowd of sympathising friends collected. At the appointed time the performer gesticulates, and dances, uttering unintelligible words and disconnected sentences, which are eagerly caught up and interpreted in accordance with the wishes of the audience.

Educated Muhammadans having no faith in this exhibition, denounce it as immoral and unholy, but the uneducated still regard the gibberish of the possessed person with the same awe as they do the unmeaning jabber of the demented.²

The Muhammadan revival of the nineteenth century is one of the

¹ This entertainment is also known as Baithak.

² For additional particulars regarding Shaikh Sadu, see "*Qanoon-i-Islám*," p. 278; "*Mrs. Mir Hasan 'Alí*," ii, 324; "*Roebuck*," pt. ii, 26; and "*Calcutta Review*," No. lxvi, p. 295.

most momentous events in the modern history of India, not only from its uniting under the banner of a common faith millions of the population, but from its threatening to become a political movement, having for its object the overthrow of the Christian government by a Muhammadan one, with the Koran and the sword as the leading agents of civilisation. The seed sown by a few earnest untitled men, has borne abundant fruit, and at the present day overshadows the whole of Eastern Bengal. To understand how it happened that a movement unsupported by the landlords, or the richer classes, and discouraged by the State, spread far and wide, embracing the large majority of the agricultural and manufacturing classes, it is necessary to go back to the days of the Muhammadan rule and ascertain the state religion at that time, and the means which were adopted to preserve and promote the faith of Islám.

The rulers of India were generally Sunnis, and a Shiáh was an abomination in the eyes of the bigoted Alamgír. Sunni Nawábs ruled at Dacca from A. D. 1612 to 1702, when the anarchy following the death of Aurangzib, raised the Shíahs into positions of influence, and made them lieutenants of the different Bengal provinces. From 1702 to 1843, Shiáh Nawábs resided at Dacca, but, though Shiáh in creed, they were obliged to worship in the Sunni mosques, on the two great íds, and join in the Khuṭba, or prayer for the Sunni emperor. Like the Nawábs of Murshídábád, they had no scruples against employing Sunni servants, or in enlisting Sunni soldiers. The Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal has always been Sunni, and their spiritual leader or Qází, appointed by the Nawáb was also of the same creed. He administered the law as expounded by the Muftí; superintended the education of children, being responsible for the orthodoxy of the religion taught them; and decided all disputes connected with religion, or public worship. Over him was the Qázíul-qúsát, the supreme ecclesiastical judge of appeal who resided at Delhi.

Again, scattered throughout the country were Naíb, or Deputy Qázís, who watched over the spiritual welfare of the masses, instructed them in the faith, and suppressed dissent, or any expression of independent thought. The power of these officers was great, and equally dreaded by the monarch and people, while their treatment of backsliders or renegades was most summary. The culprit, summoned into their presence, was admonished, and three days given him to recant. If at the end of that time his heart remained hardened, the Nawáb was appealed to, and in most instances death was inflicted. Such cases, by all accounts, were rare, but the fact that this was the law must have had a most wholesome effect in preventing the promulgation of any new doctrines, and in keeping all united in the bonds of a common faith.

The Sunní, however, was no bigot. His religion sat lightly on him, and he participated with the Shíah in his fast and lamentations during the Muharram, as well as with the Hindus in the frolic and license of the Dasahrá and Holí.

In 1765, when the Díwání passed into the hands of the East India Company, a great change took place. The Qázís still survived deprived of power; but no longer a terror to evil-doers. They became judicial officers without any authority as religious instructors, or arbitrators. Pírs, faqírs, and Khúndkárs abounded; but their influence was confined within a limited circle of disciples, and did not extend to the densely populated villages of the interior. For three generations, or fifty-five years, the Mussulmáns of Eastern Bengal, being without a shepherd, receded more and more from their national faith, and conformed, as has been seen, to many superstitious rites of the Hindus. But one of those movements which seem to occur in the history of all religions, causing the thoughtful to examine the grounds of the popular belief, was about to dawn on the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, and evoke a spirit which is not as yet quiescent. The first person who stirred his countrymen, by resuscitating the dormant spirit of their faith, was Háji Sharíatullah, born of obscure parents, probably Juláhas, or weavers, who resided in a village of Parganah Bandarkhola, Zila Farríd-púr. When eighteen years of age he made the pilgrimage to Meccah, but instead of returning, as was usual, he remained a disciple of the Wahábbí leaders then ruling the sacred city. About 1820, after an absence of twenty years, he came back to India a skilful disputer, and a good Arabic scholar. On his way to his home he fell among Dakáíts, who plundered him of everything, including many memorials of his residence in Arabia, and finding life insupportable without books or relics, he joined himself to the gang, and shared their many wanderings. The simplicity of his character and the sincerity of his religious convictions awakened the consciences of these wicked men, who ultimately became his most zealous followers. Such is the story told at the present day of the first step taken by this remarkable man. For several years Sharíatullah quietly disseminated his new doctrines in the villages of his native district, encountering much opposition and abuse, but attracting a band of devoted adherents, he by degrees acquired the reputation of a holy man.

The chief Wahábbí innovations introduced by him were the non-observance of the Friday prayers, of the two great Íds, and of the Muharram, and he ordered that the titles of Ustád and Shágird, terms which did not suggest complete submission, should in future be used in the place of Pir and Muríd, which had for ages been the respective

designations of the master and his pupil. He also prohibited the laying on of hands, which was customary at the initiation of a disciple, but required from all, "taubá," or penitence, for past sins, and a resolution to lead a more righteous and godly life for the future. It is a curious fact that none of these new ideas excited much opposition, but on his promulgating the dogma that it was a deadly sin, and one derived from the Hindus, to allow a midwife to cut the navel cord when it was the obvious duty of the father to do so, he roused a spirit of revolt which caused many to fall away. The Zamíndárs were alarmed at the spread of the new creed, which bound the Muhammadan peasantry together as one man. Disputes and quarrels soon arose, and Sharí'a'tullah was driven from Nayábárá, in the Dacca district, where he had settled, and returned to his birth-place. There he resumed his ministry, and in a short time enlisted the vast majority of the uneducated and most excitable classes of the Muhammadan population. His influence became unbounded, and no one hesitated to carry out his orders. He acted with great prudence and caution, rarely assuming any other character than that of a religious reformer. The movement originated by this man attracted little attention during his lifetime, and his name is rarely met with in the annals of that day. On looking back, however, at his career, there is much to repay inquiry. That he, born of poor Muhammadan weavers, amid the swamps of Eastern Bengal, should have been the first preacher to denounce the superstitions and corruptions, which a long contact with Hindu polytheism had developed, is sufficiently remarkable; but that the apathetic and careless Bengali peasant should have been roused into enthusiasm is still more extraordinary. To effect this required a sincere and sympathetic preacher, and no one ever appealed more strongly to the sympathies of a people than Sharí'a'tullah. Springing from one of their lowest and most despised classes, his blameless and exemplary life was admired by his countrymen, who venerated him as a father, able to advise them in seasons of adversity, and give consolation in times of affliction.

He is described as a man of middle height, of fair complexion, and with a long handsome beard. He usually had his head covered with a voluminous turban, and his waist-cloth, worn like a petticoat, was not triced up as it is by Hindus and Muhammadans generally.

A very different person was his son, Muhammad Mushin, better known as Dudhu Miyán, who, though of ordinary abilities, exerted an influence far surpassing that of his father. His name is a household word throughout the districts of Farríd-púr, Pubna, Báqirganj, Dacca, and Noacolly, and the number of his followers at the present day testifies to the thoroughness of the work that he and his father accomplished.

Dudhu Miyán was born in 1819, and, while still young, visited Meccah, where his followers were taught to believe that visions and revelations of a nature tending to his future exaltation, were vouchsafed to him. On his return he devoted himself to the spread of his father's doctrines, and to others which he introduced. For instance, he insisted upon his disciples eating the common grasshopper (*phangá*) which they abhorred, because the locust (*tidḍa*) was used as food in Arabia; and vigorously contended that there was no greater difference between the two insects than between the goat of their villages and one from the banks of the Jumna.

The most remarkable advance made during Dudhu Miyán's lifetime was the organisation of a society. Following the example of the Vaishnavas, he partitioned Eastern Bengal into circles, and appointed a Khalífa, or agent, to each, whose duties were to keep the sect together, make proselytes, and collect contributions for the furtherance of the objects of the association. They further kept Dudhu Miyán, who was usually styled the Pír, or simply Maulaví, acquainted with everything occurring within their jurisdiction, and wherever a Zamíndár tried to enforce his legal rights against one of the sect, funds were provided to sue him in the courts, or, if it could be safely done, club-men were sent to destroy his property and thrash his servants. During his father's lifetime the sect had never opposed, or come in contact with, the law of the land; but the high-handed actions of the son united Zamíndárs and indigo-planters against him. He tried to compel all Muhammadan ryots to join his sect, and on refusal caused them to be beaten, excommunicated from the society of the faithful, and their crops destroyed. The Zamíndárs again endeavoured to prevent their tenants joining, and it is said, often punished and tortured the disobedient. A mode of torture, intensely painful, but which left no marks to implicate any one, is said to have been adopted on both sides. The beards of recalcitrant ryots were tried together and red chilli powder given as snuff. Coercion, however, failed, and the landholders did little to check the onward spread of the revival.

It was among the cultivators and village workmen that Dudhu Miyán gained the largest number of converts. He asserted the equality of mankind, and taught that the welfare of the lowest and poorest was as much an object of interest as that of the highest and richest. When a brother fell into distress it was, he taught, the duty of his neighbours to assist him, and nothing, he affirmed, was criminal or unjustifiable, which had this object in view. Enemies in consequence alleged, that witnesses were suborned, and paid for, by the funds of the association.

Dudhu Miyán and the Hájís, as his followers were originally called,

became objects of dread to the Hindu, old Muhammadan, and European landlords. Evidence to convict a prisoner could not be got, and outrages were committed with perfect impunity. It was, however, against the levying of illegal cesses by landlords that Dudhu Miyán made his most determined stand. That a Muhammadan ryot should be obliged to contribute towards the decoration of the image of Durgá, or towards the support of any of the idolatrous rites of his Hindu landlord, were intolerable acts of oppression. In this he was certainly right, as the only apology for their continuance is their antiquity, and adaptation to the feelings of the people. But, he advanced a step further when he proclaimed that the earth is God's, and that no one has a right to occupy it as an inheritance, or levy taxes upon it. The peasantry were therefore persuaded to settle on Kháç Mahal lands, managed directly by the Government, and thus escape the payment of any taxes, but that of the land revenue, claimed by the State.

Dudhu Miyán was constantly compromising himself by the lawlessness of his conduct. In 1838 he was charged with instigating the plunder of several houses; in 1841 he was committed to the sessions on a charge of murder, but was acquitted; in 1844 he was tried for tresspass and illegal assembly; and in 1846 for abduction and plunder. The riot of 1838 assumed at one time a very threatening aspect, and a detachment of Sepoys was sent from Dacca to quell any disturbance. It was, however, found impossible to induce witnesses to give evidence, and on each occasion he was acquitted. At Bahádurpúr, where he generally resided, every Mussulmán stranger was fed, while Eastern Bengal was overrun by his spies, and the interests of the whole neighbourhood were in his keeping. He settled disputes, administered summary justice, and punished any Hindu, Muhammadan, or Farangí, who dared to bring a suit for recovery of debt in the adjoining Munçif's Court, instead of referring the case to his decision. Emissaries carried his orders to distant villages, and his letters, signed "Ahmad nám Ma'lúm," often had the ordinary Hindu superscription to allay suspicion. He taught that there was no sin in persecuting those who refused to embrace his doctrines, or who appealed against the orders of the society and its constituted leaders.

Having broken the law with impunity, Dudhu Miyán took a bolder step. Mr. A. Dunlop, an indigo-planter of Panch Chur factory in Farídpúr, had for many years been an uncompromising opponent, and several times succeeded in causing the Miyán to be arrested, and tried for illegal actions. The Miyán, bent upon revenge, easily found willing agents to execute his orders. On the 5th of December, 1846, a large body of armed men, attacked and burned to the ground the factory of

Panch Chur. After pillaging the adjoining village, they departed, taking with them the Bráhmaṇ Gomastha, who was afterwards cruelly murdered in the Báqirgunj district. Dudhu Miyán and sixty-two of his followers were tried by the Sessions Judge of Farríd-púr, in July 1847, and convicted, but on appeal to the Qadr-Adalat they were acquitted.

In 1857, Dudhu Miyán was thrown into prison, and the story goes, that he would have been released, if he had not boasted that fifty thousand men would answer to his summons and march whithersoever he ordered them.

Several actions of their Pír must have been disapproved of by many of his followers, as, for instance, when he forcibly carried off a Bráhmaṇi girl and made her his "*nikah*" wife; but even this violent act did not cause them to desert him. On the contrary, they believed in him to the last, and liberally spent their hard-earned savings in promoting the interests of the sect. At one time a few disciples seceded. They had been to Meccah, and ascertained that the teaching of Maulaví Karámat 'Alí was orthodox, while that of their own spiritual chief was Wahábbí in tendency, and heterodox. This secession exasperated Dudhu Miyán to such a pitch that he instructed his people to kill the renegades wherever and whenever found.

Dudhu Miyán is described as having been a tall handsome man, with a dark flowing beard, and a large turban wound round his head. He died at Bahádurpúr, 24th September 1860, and was buried there, but the Arial Khán river has, within the last few years, washed away every trace of his house and tomb. His wealth, at one time considerable, being expended on lawsuits and intrigues, his family was left poor. Three sons survive, of whom none have as yet exhibited any of the energy or abilities of their father. The sect is consequently diminishing in numbers, and many families are yearly joining the next, or Ta'aiyúní, divisions.

At the present day the term Farazí is indiscriminately used when speaking either of the sect founded by Sharía'tullah, or that established by Karámut 'Alí; but the Muhammadans of Dacca call the followers of Dudhu Miyán, Farazís, while those obeying the teaching of the Patna school are styled Ta'aiyúní.

While Dudhu Miyán was enrolling disciples in Eastern Bengal, other reformers were stirring up the dormant fanaticism of their brethren in other districts, and the wave passing over the plains of Farríd-púr received a fresh impulse from other sources. In 1831 the ex-dakáít, Mír Naçr 'Alí, better known as Titu Miyán, presided over a band of credulous followers in the neighbourhood of Baraset. Having

accompanied Sayyid Ahmad to Meccah, he returned to preach a new creed to the weavers, and other despised classes, in Jessore and Nadiyá, among whom he established the sect known as Maulavis. The chief object of this movement was the rejection of all Hindu rites, and the exclusion of all Muhammadans who refused to embrace the new creed. The Hindu landlords had no sympathy with the new organisation. Complaints against the Maulavis being lodged in the Zemíndárí courts, fines were inflicted and generally levied; but on a landlord carrying into effect the sentence of his court, a tumult arose, and the Maulavis rushed to arms. These fanatics, taught to believe that Titu Miyán was invulnerable, and that he could give the same charm to his followers, were attacked on the 18th November, 1831, in a stockaded village, their leader shot, and two hundred and fifty prisoners lodged in 'Alípúr Jail. This local disturbance being effectually put down, nothing more was heard of the sect.

Far more important, however, than the revival begun by Sharí'a'tullah and Titu Miyán, was that initiated by Sayyid Ahmad at Patna, in 1820. At first this new association claimed to be identical with that started by Sharí'a'tullah; but it was soon apparent that their aims were different and antagonistic. Both concurred in repudiating the numerous superstitions observed by all classes of Muhammadans, but the Ta'aiyúní, or Patna sect, introduced many innovations unknown to the followers of Sharí'a'tullah and Dudhu Miyán. By the Arabs, as well as the Ta'aiyúní, the Farazís are known as Wáhábbís, a name, however, repudiated by all but the extreme party, called Kaf'yadain.

The first preacher (*wa'iz*) of the Patna school who visited Eastern Bengal, was Muhammad Ali, a Khalífa appointed by Sayyid Ahmad, whose censures were chiefly directed against the practice of Hindu superstitions. He forbade the reading of the "*fátiha*," or prayer for the dead; the offering of "*shírmí*," or sweetmeats, at the tombs of holy men; and the use of music at weddings. The next was Wiláyat Ali, one of the four original Khalífas chosen by Sayyid Ahmad at Patna, in 1820. His opinions were still more pronounced, and more deeply tinged with Wahábbi formalism. For example, he enjoined the frequent raising of the hands, and the utterance in a loud tone of voice of the word 'Amín' at the end of each prayer. He also maintained that the Hadís, or traditionary sayings and doings of Muhammad, contained authoritative instruction on many points, being only second to the Korán in value.

The most successful and celebrated missionaries, however, were Maulavis Karámat Ali, Zain-ul-abadín, and an Arab, Sayyid Muhammad Jamál-ul-lail, whose preaching among the villages of Eastern Bengal

has had the most momentous effects, not only by uniting under one banner the vast majority of the middle and working classes, but also by arousing the intolerant spirit of Muhammadanism, which had lain dormant for nearly a century.

Little is known regarding the history of Zain-ul-abadín, but of Maulaví Karámat Áli, who died in 1874, full particulars are available. He was the son of the Sarishtadár of the Jaunpúr Collectorate. When sixteen years of age, he studied under Maulánáh Abd-ul-Azíz of Delhi, and afterwards under Ahmadullah, a famous teacher of Jaunpúr. Excited by the preaching of Sayyid Ahmad, he followed that remarkable man to Calcutta, became his disciple, and accompanied him to Meccah. On his return he proved himself one of the most valuable deputies of the Patna mission.

Sayyid Muhammad Jamál-ul-lail fled from Madínah, because his father insisted on his marrying an Arab damsel. He came to Dacca about 1843, and joined with Karámat Áli in disseminating the new doctrines. Although ignorant of Bengali, and hardly acquainted with Hindustani, his commanding figure, luxuriant beard, and voluminous turban were, in the eyes of the ignorant villagers, credentials of his sincerity and capacity, and soon attracted to him a numerous circle of disciples. He married Bengali wives, one of whom, a resident of Dhám-rái, possessed a considerable property. In 1854, incensed by the peculations of the Amlah, he decided, contrary to the wishes of the other shareholders, to collect the rents himself. His opponents assembled club-men and tried to capture him, but, boiling with anger, he rushed within doors, seized a gun and wounded several of the assailants. For this offence he was tried, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Rájsháhí Jail. On the expiry of his term he returned to Dacca an altered man, much broken in spirit. He died in August 1872, and was buried in the village of Naichabandtolá, opposite Dacca. His cousin, Sayyid Muhammad Hásham, or Arab Çahib, as he is familiarly called, still trains disciples, and propagates the same religious creed as his predecessor.

The doctrines taught by these later Khalífas differed materially from those of Muhammad Áli Wiláyat Áli. The former held that the Hadís, a human compilation, and therefore full of errors, could not be considered an infallible guide; but admitted that the teachings of the Imáms, as contained in the Fiqhá, or practical jurisprudence, were binding, although contradictory passages, and a diversity of doctrines, could be found in them. These defects were not, they argued, so vital, nor the tenets grounded on the various readings so absolute, as to justify Muhammadans in breaking asunder the bonds uniting the world of Islám.

Furthermore, these reformers denounced the employment of music at weddings, as being a sensual and discomposing pleasure; the offering up of the "*fātiha*" at the grave of deceased relatives; and the worship of Pírs, and other saintly personages.

These opinions regarding the Hadís and Fiqr had always been held by the Muhammadans of Bengal, but the assertion that music was immoral, and that the "*fātiha*," as well as the becoming veneration of Pírs, were sinful, roused much opposition, and gave rise to a learned, though idle, discussion.

In later years Karámat Āli made the important admission, that India under the English rule, was not Dár-ul-harb, a country where the infidels were the legitimate objects of attack, as had been maintained by Dudhu Miyán and Wiláyat Ālí.

The principal doctrines of these reformers being founded on the fundamental truths of Islám, excited at first no little surprise, as they had been lost sight of by the Hinduised Mussulmáns of Bengal.

According to them, man, by nature feeble and prone to evil, cannot without assistance learn to know God or obey His commands. Muhammad is the only true mediator between God and His rebellious children; but the holy men of past ages possess a certain limited power of obtaining pardon for the penitent. It is therefore regarded by the Ta'aiyuni as a meritorious act to make offerings, or *Li'llahí*, at the graves of saints, in the name of God, as they believe that the supplicant, being moved by the associations of the place, prays with greater sincerity and fervour.

The custom, however, observed in Bengal for ages, of presenting bread to the manes of ancestors on the Shab-i-barát, and of making offerings at the tombs of deceased relatives and friends on the fourth, tenth, twentieth, and fortieth days after death, were denounced as deadly sins. In their stead, the relatives were instructed to employ a Maulaví to visit, twenty-one days after the funeral, the house of mourning and perform the service called Niyázulla, or thanksgiving to God, consisting of few a passages from the Koran, or Khatm-ul-Ambiya, in a chamber fumigated with sandal-wood and frank-incense.

Although the lamentations and singing, the Ta'zias, and the noisy pageantry of the Muharram, are reprehensible, the Maulavís recommend their disciples to fast and spend the tenth, or *Shahádat ka roz*, in religious exercises, as a devotional act.

The Shab-gashtí procession, with its discordant music, its frolics and license, no longer traverses the streets, having been put down by these puritanical teachers; and Muhammadan marriages (Shar'í-ul-Shádi) are now dull and uninteresting ceremonies. No music, or dancing, is allowed, and only a few relatives witness the marriage. The

bride is no longer adorned with garlands of flowers; the Kandúri ceremony is omitted; and the "*Marocha*" not constructed. The marriage service is performed by a Qází or Maulaví, and a Kábín, or marriage settlement, is drawn up.

The only festivity allowed is a feast, or Walima, given on the marriage day, or on one of the two following days, and to which the relatives, the headmen of the village, and of the trade, are invited.

The superstitions connected with the birth of a child have also been pronounced sinful. On the fortieth day, when the mother becomes ceremonially clean, the husband makes ready the thanksgiving feast, called *Aqíqa*. Two he-goats (*khaçí*) are offered for a male child, one for a female, which, like the sacrificial goat of the Íd-ul-qurbán, must be without spot or blemish. The offering being regarded by some as a propitiatory one (*sadqa*), the flesh is distributed to faqírs; but the majority look upon the occasion as a social feast, at which relatives and friends meet to enjoy themselves. The victim is slaughtered by a Mullá, the bones and offal being buried, while the skin is given to any beggar. The father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother of the child are strictly forbidden to taste the flesh of the sacrifice.

The Ta'aiyuni observe the five daily prayers, and before each they clean their teeth with a piece of stick (*miswák*), rinse their mouths, and wash their hands. They strictly observe the "Jum'a namáz," or Friday-prayer, in the public mosque, which the Farazís and Wahábbís dispense with; and before leaving their homes it is customary to shave, bathe, and put on clean garments. The stricter members also observe the "*tahajjud*," or prayer at 3 A. M.

The Ta'aiyuni, furthermore, dresses differently from any other Muhammadan. His loins are ungirded in expectation of the advent of the long-looked-for Imám Mahdí, and, instead of the ordinary waist-string, or *kardhaní*, he wears a leather strap (*tasma*). He is also enjoined to allow his beard to grow, and to wear his hair long, or, better still, to shave it entirely off; and is forbidden to eat food off a golden or silver dish, or to touch with his lips the mouth-piece of a tobacco-pipe mounted with silver. Further, he must not pray in silken garments,¹ as was often the custom formerly, but in cotton or woollen attire.

Women are as punctilious as men, especially in attending to the regular prayers. Of late years they have laid aside the graceful *sári*, and adopted a jacket with long sleeves, which does not add to their comeliness, and, still more important, is not admired by females of other

¹ The cloth, called *Mashrú'*, made of silk and cotton, in which a Muhammadan may lawfully pray, is not worn in Bengal.

classes. They also object to staining their feet and nails with henna, or "*mehndi*," as is done throughout most parts of Muhammadan Asia.

Another usage has had a most important bearing on the business habits of this class of Muhammadans. Interest (*súdl*) is denounced by the Maulavis, and as large profits (*manáfi*) are legitimate, among them are found great traders in jute, hides, rice, and country produce generally, who never join with professional bankers, or money-lenders, unless they agree to division of profits instead of a certain rate of interest. When giving an advance of money, it is usually stipulated that the sum shall be repaid within a certain period, and that an eighth, or fourth, of the net profit shall be paid to the lender, in addition to the principal.

By this arrangement the lender often receives more than the market rate of interest, but if the payment be delayed nothing additional is gained. This system of profits, however, is virtually interest under another name.

Strange to say, the reformed Muhammadans of Dacca still cling to many Hindu superstitions, in spite of the denunciations of the Maulavis. They wear amulets (*ta'wiz*) containing a sentence from the Koran, and place implicit trust in earthen platters, inscribed with holy texts and hung up over their doors, or around their villages, believing such objects to be more efficacious against epidemics than the sanitary skill of the Yunáni or European physicians. Again, when small-pox attacks their families, Sítala is worshipped with as much faith as is shown by the Hindu Málákárs, and in 1874, when the disease was present in their villages, a "*ghat*," daubed with red-lead, on which a cocoanut and plantains were placed, stood in every house. They were determined opponents of vaccination, but occasionally have their children inoculated with all the mummery of the Sítala Pujah.

Under pretence of greater sanctity and stricter orthodoxy, they unconsciously practice many other Hindu usages: thus, on touching a Christian they bathe, on his entering their houses throw away all cooked food or drinking water. Their immaculateness, however, is not soiled by contact with a Hindu of the vilest class, or by his presence within doors. It is the Wáhábí who, with perfect consistency, treats Hindus and Christians with equal repugnance.

It would not be unreasonable to infer that the promulgation of these new puritanical doctrines would produce a corresponding improvement in the character of the members; but according to the best authorities, the Maulavis, no change is as yet visible. On being asked if the Muhammadans of his sect oftener spoke the truth than those of the old school, a Maulavi replied,—that the latter lied, being ignorant of the moral turpitude thereby incurred, but that the former, who were able to

distinguish between what was right and what was wrong, uttered falsehoods more circumstantially and glibly. There can be no doubt that the Ta'aiyuni inhabitants of Dacca are more addicted to drink than the old Muhammadans. An amusing scene was witnessed in 1874, at the Pancháit of one of the most bigoted quarters of the city, which had been summoned to try a young man for drunkenness and creating a scandal. The evidence was overwhelming, and the culprit was sentenced to receive twenty-five blows with a shoe. He claimed the right of replying, and, without attempting to extenuate his crime, pointed out that, if consistent and impartial, the meeting should inflict the same punishment on his boon companions. This was admitted, when he enumerated the sons of all the leading members present, and stated that he was prepared to prove their complicity in drinking spirits. The assembly was hurriedly dissolved, and the young man escaped the punishment he so richly merited.

The Ta'aiyuni differ in many important respects from the Farazí and Wahábbí. They not only regard the Friday-prayer with peculiar reverence, but often make it, like Sunday in Europe, a day for popular demonstrations and for forming combinations against the Zamindárs. The Patna Khalífas have always pretended that this movement was identical with the Farazí, and on the strength of this identity extracted money from the ignorant peasantry, who were also induced to leave their homes and join the Sitána Colony. But from time to time a few returned, and having confessed that the subscriptions went to support a delusive cause, the enthusiasm gradually died away.

There can be no doubt, however, that much secret disaffection, fostered by fanatical Khalífas and Maulavís, still exists in the ranks of the sect: but it is generally said that subscriptions are now unwillingly paid, and fewer recruits drafted to the North-West frontier than was the case ten years ago.

The foregoing is a simple but correct sketch of the Muhammadan religion as found in Eastern Bengal at the present day.* Islám is there passing through a period of trial, and seems in danger of being split up into rival creeds, unless injudicious interference on the part of the Government causes it to unite against a common enemy. But, in absence of any provocation, it is likely that jealousy will increase, and the two most important divisions, the Sábiqí and Ta'aiyuni, learn to hate each other as brethren of different beliefs always do. As the new school is of more progressive tendency it will probably assume the offensive, and owing to its numbers, silence dissent, as well as all expression of independent opinion. The Sábiqí are disunited, without any organisation,

* Fifteen or twenty years ago—Ed.

but the Ta'iyuní, under the guidance of able leaders, are bound together by the ties of a widely diffused and powerful society. The former, again, are friendly to the English Government, the latter, at heart estranged, do not dare to show themselves hostile.

As the religion of the Muhammadans of Bengal has become corrupted by the adoption of many Hindu superstitions, so it will be found on further enquiry, that the professional and labouring classes have also introduced many innovations derived from the same source.

In each Mussalman "*qawm*," or class, there is a Pancháit of elders, by whom matters affecting the interests of the trade, or company, are discussed, and all offenders against their unwritten laws are summarily dealt with.

In every Muhammadan village, or quarter of a town, there is another, and equally efficient, court of arbitration. In Dacca, there are twenty-two of these Pancháits, each consisting of from five to fifty members, and often including Hindus of respectability, and liberal views. A Pancháit is presided over by a Sardár, or Mir Mahalla, under whom there is at least one Naib-Sardar, or deputy, a Sákhí-dar, literally one who gives evidence; and a Gorait, or messenger.

The post of a Sardár is hereditary, and when old or disabled by sickness, he must vacate in favour of his son. The position is no *sinecure*, as his duties are multifarious, for all deaths, births and purposes of marriage are reported to him. He summons the Pancháit, gives directions about funerals, arranges the marriage ceremony, and settles what subjects are, or are not to be laid before the court. In all domestic and private quarrels he is consulted, and in charges of assault, or crime generally, full details are submitted for his decision. His orders being absolute, the fines are always paid. When the court assembles, he submits to it the business for which it was summoned, points out the proper course of action, and, if a conclusion cannot be arrived at, he appeals to another Pancháit, which re-considers the matter and records its decision, which must be accepted. The Pancháit always meets in the evening, and when the court is dissolved a feast is given, at which the Sardár receives two shares of the food, one of which he eats, the other he sends to his family.

In cases of notorious drunkenness, or great immorality, remonstrance having failed, a very severe punishment, called "*Nal-páni-bándhna*," is inflicted, by which the delinquent is ostracised, and no one will eat or smoke with him, or even permit him to enter or sit down in their houses. Relatives must banish him from their society, and if he die impenitent no one dares to bury him. Life under such circumstances becomes insupportable, as the punishment is greater than can be borne.

In most instances the offender acknowledges his transgression, and, after paying a heavy fine, is re-admitted into social communion.

The Sákhi-dár is the servant of the Sardár, and receives at feasts a double allowance of food. When a death occurs in the quarter information is given to him, and a fee of four annas paid, and when a marriage is contemplated he receives four annas, and a handkerchief in which a betel-nut is tied. A piece of the nut he delivers to each member of the Pancháit, as an invitation to the marriage feast.

The Gorait, again, is merely the messenger of the Sákhi-dár, and he receives as pay one-half of the fees collected.

When a girl is married nothing is given to the Pancháit of her quarter, or village; but when a boy goes to another quarter, or village, he pays one rupee to the Pancháit, one rupee to the mosque, and one to the Zamindár of the land on which the bride's house stands.

Such is the autonomy of Muhammadan citizens. Though a copy of the Pancháits and Dals of Hindu castes, it is far more liberal, being established, not so much for selfish or sordid advantages as for the common welfare of the citizens. The court is thoroughly secular and republican, the opinion of each member carrying equal weight, although that held by the president is generally followed. These Pancháits possess great influence among the people, and in Farazí villages, as they take cognizance of all offences, it is exceedingly rare that any case of violence or assault, committed within them, finds its way into the regular courts.

The Muhammadans of Bengal have followed in many respects the system of caste as practised by the Hindus, although the principle that a son must carry on the trade or occupation of a father, has never been reduced to a formula. Still, they have placed many honest and useful handicrafts under a ban, while others of a more objectionable nature are reckoned honourable.

The most respectable occupations are those of the Darzí, Jildgar, Júti-wálah, Nánbái, Naicha-band, Paṭwá, Rangrez, and Rafúgar; the most dishonouring, those of Bájunia, Beldár, Chamra-farosh, Dhobí, Dhuniyá, Juláha, Kalwár, Kolu, Kúti, Mahi-farosh, and Nilgar.

The learned professions, such as the Hakím, Háfiz, Khwándkár, Maçawwir, Mulla, and Munshí are respected by all classes, and few deserving students or scholars ever want for patronage or encouragement. The chief reason why one trade is accounted less reputable than another is, that the most honoured were originally Muhammadan, the despised ones, Hindu. The eight trades mentioned as honourable provide for wants which were secondary in the eyes of the Hindus. The trades of the tailor, book-binder, shoe-maker, baker, and darning, unknown in Bengal,

when Muhammadans first settled there, were necessarily followed by their own countrymen from Upper India, and therefore did not entail any disgrace or degradation. A position being thus secured for these tradesmen, it was in vain that those who engaged in new occupations strove to acquire rank and privileges disallowed by the older conservative bodies. This struggle of exclusion on the one hand, and of admission to equal rights on the other, is still eagerly contested by the various parties.

The avocations of the musician, delver, washerman, fishmonger, and indigo-dyer, formerly pursued by outcaste Hindus, were subsequently adopted by poor Mussulmáns, or by converts to that faith, and have consequently remained inferior ones. The hide merchant, cotten-carder, Jamadání weaver, distiller, oilman, and Kúti, who follow occupations new to the Hindus, are for the same reasons outcaste. The bigotry and intolerance of the Chamra-farosh and Kúti are so remarkable as at once to excite suspicion of their recent conversion, while the low estimation in which they are held by other Muhammadans can only be accounted for by this fact.

The different stages through which converted Hindus pass before they gain a position of thorough equality with the old Muhammadans can be traced at the present day. The Bediyás were outcaste Hindus thirty years ago, but a Mulla now ministers to them, circumcision is practised, the Ramazán fast is kept, and the regular prayers offered up; but they cannot enter the public mosque, or find a resting-place in the public grave-yard. From a social point of view they are still aliens, with whom no gentleman will associate or eat. The treatment of the Chandál by the Súdra is in no respect more rigorous, or harsh, than that of the Bediyás by the upper ranks of Muhammadans.

The Kúti, again, have advanced a stage farther, being not only the most dogmatic, but also the most sanctimonious of their faith. The mosques, only open to them within the last few years, are now held and managed by their leaders, who decide what persons are, or are not, entitled to worship in them. Beyond this, however, the division has not made any stride. No Muhammadan of good family will intermarry with them, or eat from their dishes; but the ordinary burial service is performed at the Masjíd, and the dead are permitted to lie in the public cemetery.

The previous sketch has shown us that the religion, customs, and social divisions of the Bengali Muhammadans are deeply tinged with Hindu superstition. It remains to be proved that the Muhammadans, as individuals, bear much resemblance to their Hindu fellow countrymen.

The educated Muhammadan, being of liberal ideas, respects all religions, despising none, and sympathises with sincere worshippers of God, wherever found, although convinced that he is the heir of the latest and best revelation. The Arabic and Persian classics, containing as he thinks all that is worth knowing, are his daily study; but he neither reads modern literature nor sends his sons to the public schools, as both are considered to favour infidelity and scepticism. Science is a sealed book which he has no desire to open, while English and Bengali are foreign languages to him. He attends to his religious duties, observes the fast of Ramazán, and dispenses charity freely and unostentatiously. His anxiety to preserve the family-name untarnished is a ruling passion, often carried to extremes. Not only does he scorn to tell a lie, or perform a mean action, but he will rather lose a law-suit than appear before a magistrate of low birth. Inferior to the Hindus in chicanery, he can, if driven to it, wield the same weapon, and make a determined, if not always successful defence. To the poor he is kind and considerate, many charitable actions being done in private for which he gets no credit. He visits the sick servant in his hovel, sending him food and sherbet prepared in the *zanánáh*, and helps poor students by providing lodgings as well as paying a *Munshí* to instruct them. In the society of strangers he is polite and lavish of praise; but he seldom visits, sits at the table, or partakes of food with Christians, as was the invariable custom a century ago. It is melancholy to contemplate the present state of the better classes of Muhammadans, for with many excellent traits of character, they have no energy or ambition left. Instead of adapting themselves to the changes of modern civilisation, they listen to tales of ignorant *faqírs*, or to sedition taught by fanatical *Maulavis*, and lament that the days of 'Alamgír and of *Mussalmán* supremacy have passed away. The young are growing up in idleness and ignorance; the old wasting their lives by debauchery, intemperance, and opium. The establishment of a *Madrasah*, or school, managed by Muhammadan gentlemen, will in time exert a beneficial effect, but the fear that the rising generation will resemble "Young Bengali" keeps many from sending their sons to it.

The vast majority of Bengali Muhammadans are ignorant and simple peasants, who of late years have been casting off the Hindu tinsel which has so long disfigured their religion. They are now taught that to be good *Mussulmán*s nothing more is necessary than the repetition, at stated intervals, of certain prayers in a language they cannot pronounce, still less understand. In many places it is difficult for the ryots to find a person capable of conducting the services of the congregation. In 1874 the inhabitants of several villages assembled on the banks of the

Lakhya to celebrate the Baqr-'Īd, but their being no one present who could lead the worship, a Dacca youth, aged twenty, who was passing in a boat, had to land and recite the usual prayers.

Formerly the peasants respected Bráhmans, and attended many Hindu ceremonials now prohibited; but the Farazí Maulavis have denounced the contribution of anything to the annual festivals, although unable to stop the payment of extra rent in place of the Párvaṇa, or impost levied to defray the cost of religious ceremonies.

The peasant is not only litigious, and very unreasonable when his interests are touched, but easily persuaded to join in combinations against his landlord, and in so doing often falls into the snare set by designing men. Industry and frugality are common virtues, and though the wife is treated as a slave, she is never ill-used, while towards his children much affection and indulgence are shown. Strangers being regarded with suspicion, a simple question rarely receives a straightforward answer. The most attractive feature in the character of the ryot is his hospitality and charity. The beggar always receives a copper, or if the meal be ready the poorest wretch is invited to partake of it, and on leaving, dismissed with a blessing. The house may be small, but the vagrant finds shelter therein.

It is to this national weakness that Bengal owes the existence of so many sturdy mendicants, who, wandering from one hamlet to another, find some kind hand to feed and shelter them.

The Mussulmán is less sociable than the Hindu, and now that music has a ban laid upon it, he can no longer join in parties given by his Hindu neighbours. Boys of both creeds play together, and when grown up, often become attached friends. It is not uncommon for the Muhammadan to share the joys and sorrows of his Hindu friend, and pay the compliment of naming a son after him.

One of the most characteristic foibles of the Bengali peasant is vanity, leading him to wear embroidered garments and caps, and carry—what in his eyes is the modern emblem of gentility—a cotton umbrella!

On the whole the peasant is a happy and contented man, unless the plausible theories of the Maulavis induce him to join in agrarian disputes and combinations so common at the present day. Nothing will make him leave the home round which his affections cling, unless injustice and a long course of illegal exactions, by rendering life intolerable, force him to seek for peace under a less extortionate landlord. The Churs, or alluvial islands, along the Ganges and Meghna, are the favourite retreats of Farazí ryots, and the lands being managed directly by Government, and not by any Zamíndár, or Middleman, the arbitrary taxes sanctioned by the ancient customs of the country are no longer collected.



Fig. 1.

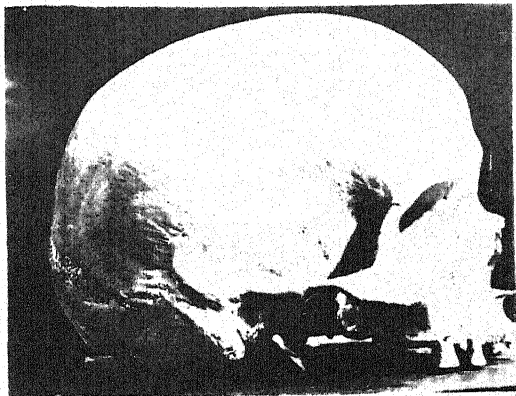


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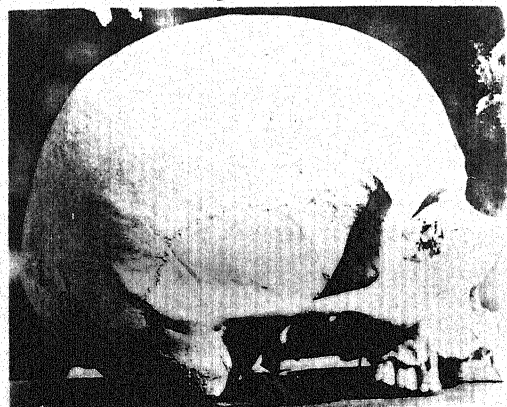


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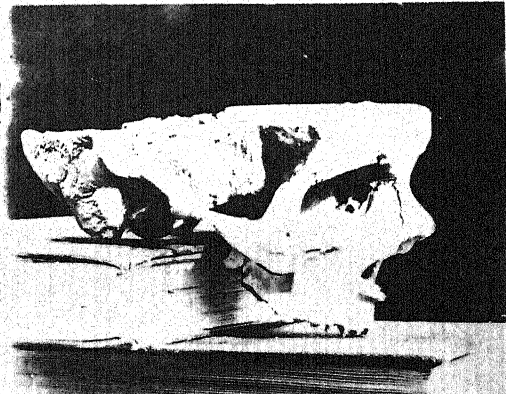


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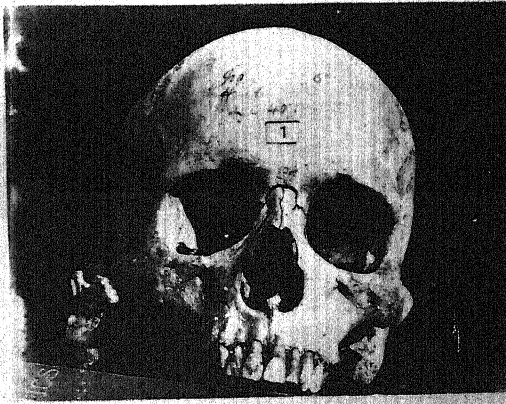


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Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.

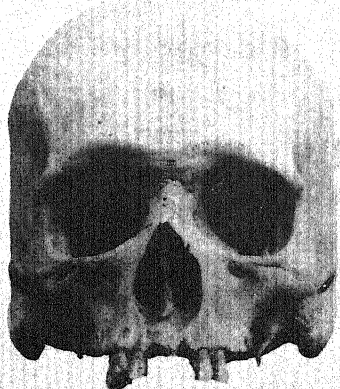


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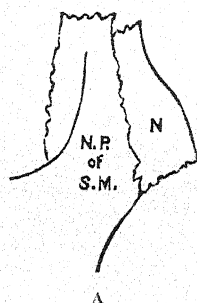
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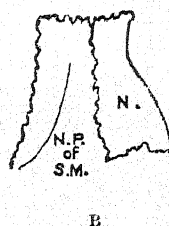
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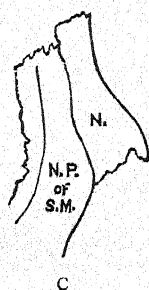
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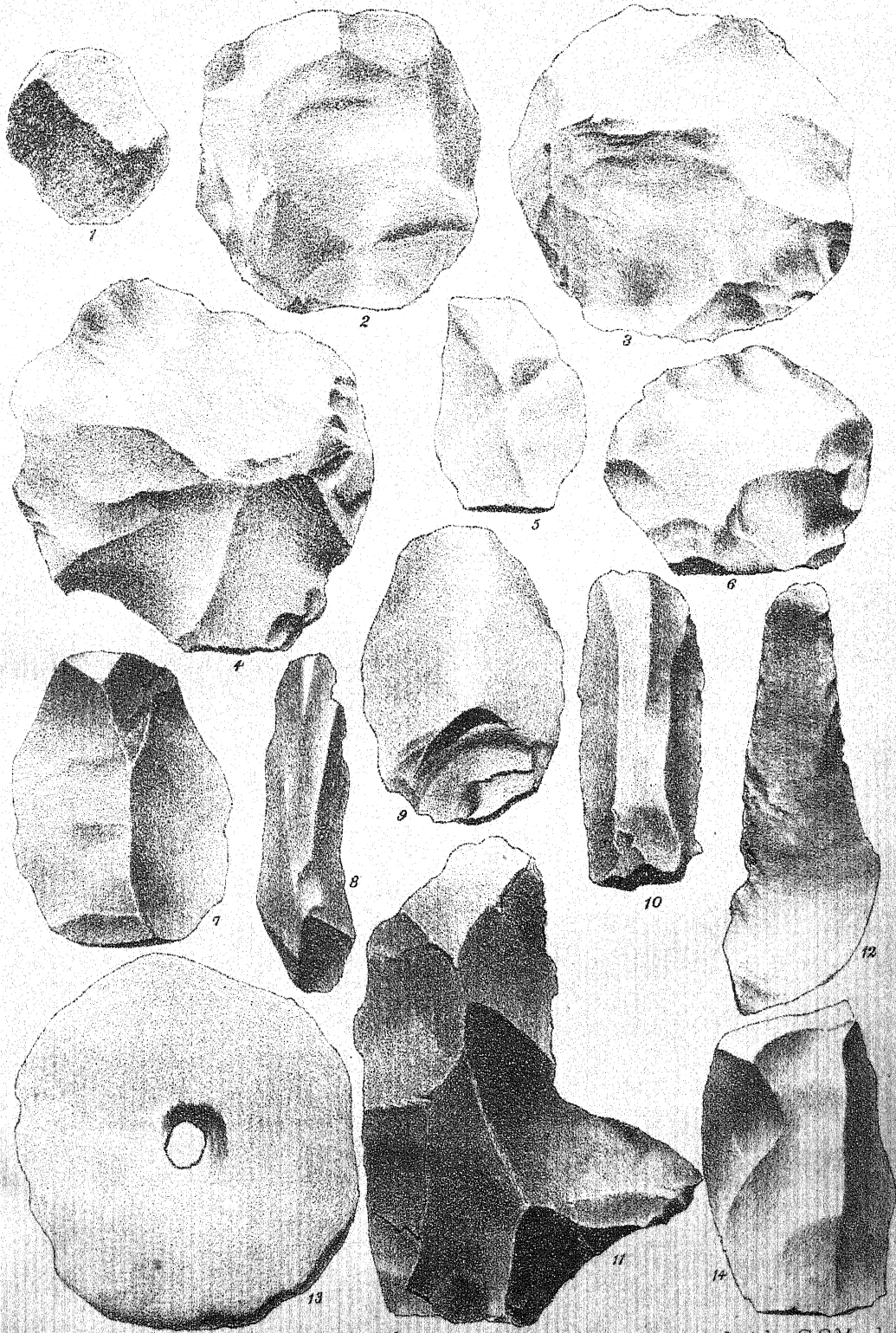
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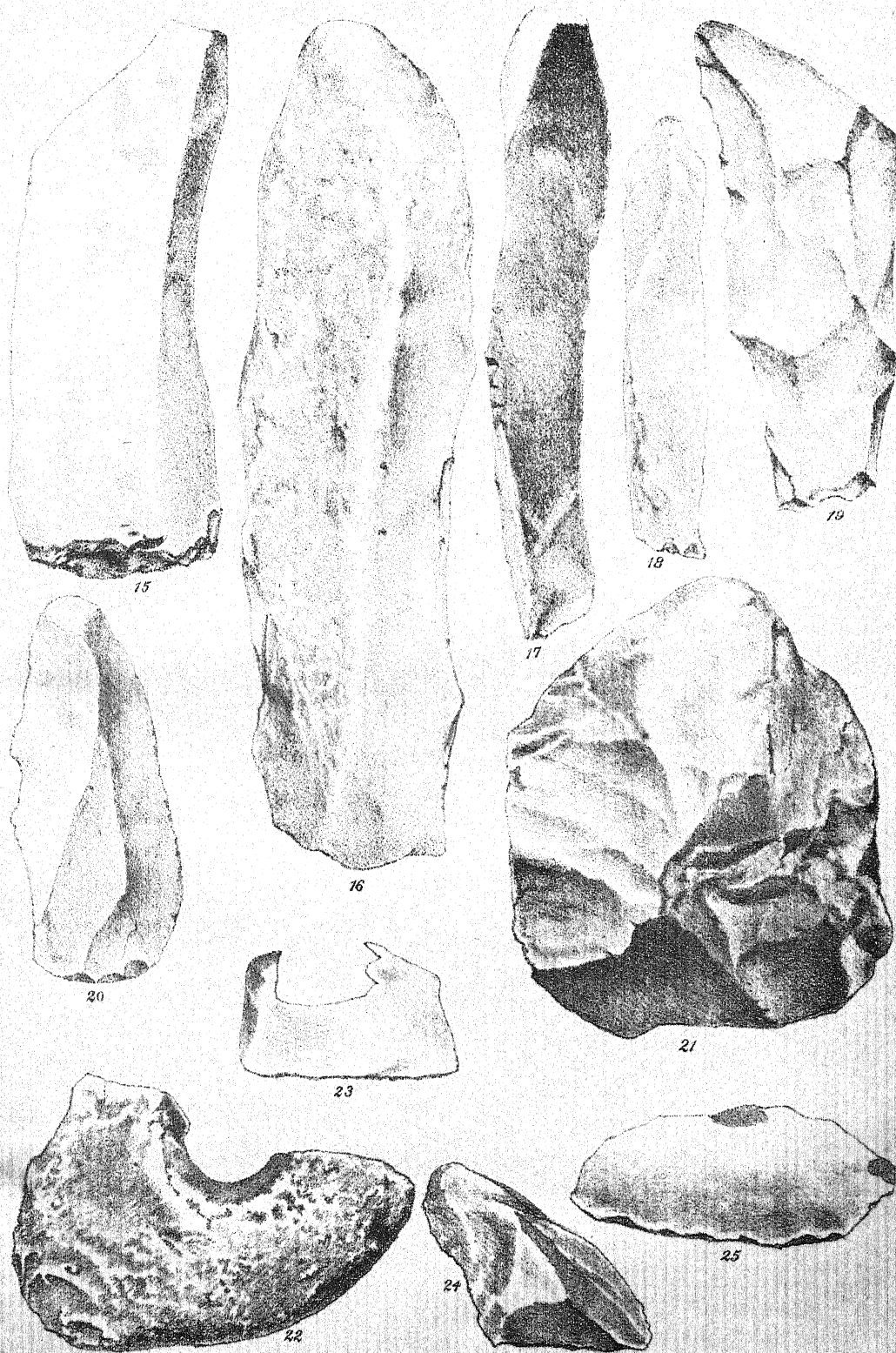


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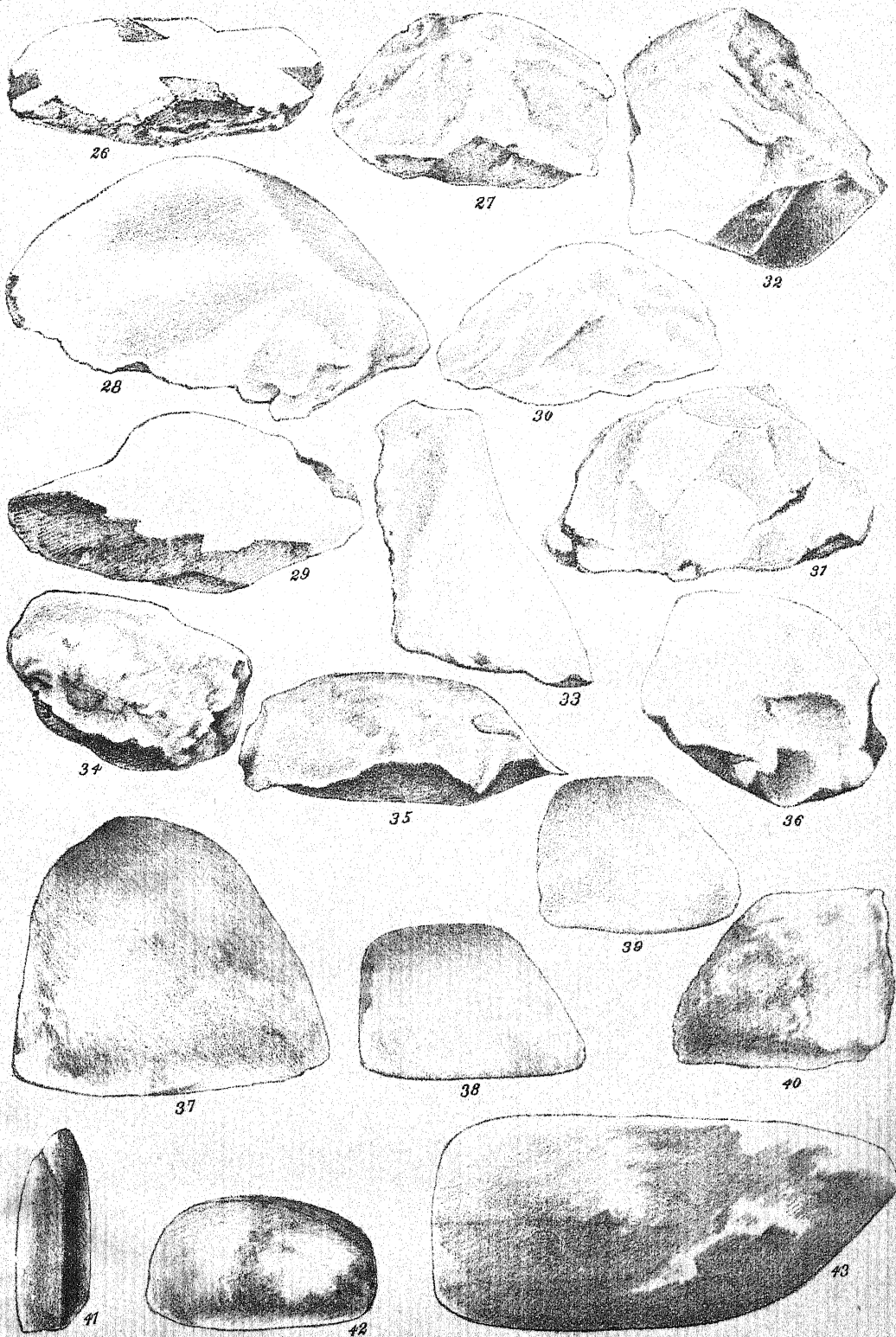


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TO

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